श्री बलबीर पुंज (उड़ीसा): महोदय, मैं इस विषय के साथ स्वयं को संबद्ध करता हूँ।

श्रीमती माया सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश): महोदय, मैं इस विषय के साथ स्वयं को संबद्ध करती हूँ।

श्री राज मोहिन्दर सिंह मजीठा (पंजाब): महोदय, मैं इस विषय के साथ स्वयं को संबद्ध करता हूँ।

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदय, मैं इस विषय के साथ स्वयं को संबद्ध करता हूँ।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया: महोदय, मैं इस विषय के साथ स्वयं को संबद्ध करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Would you please resume your seat?

सरदार तरलोचन सिंह: सर, वहाँ सिख मैम्बरों का एक delegation जाना चाहिए।

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has already said that. Would you please resume your seat? I, now, call upon Shri Ashwani Kumar.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR (Punjab): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to express myself on the most important policy document unveiled by the new Government. The President's Address is, indeed, a Charter of national renewal. It is a Charter of nation regeneration. But, if I were to define the qualitative distinction of the President's Address, I would say that it constructs for all of us to evaluate a matrix of governance in which the concerns of those who are on the margins are integrated with the mainstream. If I were to define its relevance to India in the 21st Century, I would say that it seeks to reassure the nation of our irrevocable commitment to inclusive society, to inclusive governance, to an architecture of inclusion that Indian society is all about.

Sir, I am privileged to be able to express myself on a subject that is, today, engaging the attention of a billion plus Indian people and, indeed, the world. The world watched a silent revolution when our party was returned with a remarkable mandate. This democratic revolution has to be answered in terms of the response of the new Government. This democratic mandate has to be redeemed by purposed governance, by human governance. This Address unfolds the charter of humane and caring governance. As a Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh once said, "A daring India must also be a caring India". And, to the extent, the one single thread that runs through all the pages of this address concerns itself with the welfare of the *aam aadmi*, concerns itself with the empowerment of those who have remained on the margins of the society. I think, we have more than amply, redeemed the pledge that we gave to the people of our country. One a more sounder note, on a more philosophical note that spells out the political philosophy of this Government, if someone were to say what is it that the President's Address tell the people of India, I would say that the Address reflects the will of our age. It shows us how to translate the will of our age in a manner that the people of India expect us to do.

Sir, there are many firsts in this address — the National Food Mission, the Food Security Act, the Independent Evaluator's Office in the Prime Minister's Office. These are many firsts

that were unheard of till a couple of months ago, before we launched our manifesto. In our very first policy statement, we have shown our resolute will to translate into action what we have promised to the people of India.

I have repeatedly, in my own humble ways, spoken about two Indias. Most of our people, here, have always been reminded of the distinction in India and Bharat. This Address seeks to eliminate the distinction between India and Bharat. This Address is a clarion call to the entire community of Indians to ensure that those who are flying up and soaring high in the sky do not look down upon those who are yearning also to fly and soar high along with them. The two Indias — one, that is soaring, and, the other, that seeks to soar — have been united by a purposed agenda of social transformation and economic empowerment through humane and caring governance. Therein lies, in my respectful submission, the qualitative distinction of this Address. We have seen and read many Addresses in the past. What is it that this Address defines different. It says that the economic growth is necessary, but the economic growth *per se* cannot be an end itself. We have tried to bridge the argument of economic growth with empowerment. We have said that the economic growth will be our goal. And, it cannot be otherwise. We will seek to achieve 8.5 to 9 per cent growth, despite the global economic slowdown. We will try and do so consistently with the expansion of employment opportunities, consistent with the empowerment of women, consistent with the empowerment of the weaker sections, consistent with a Government that seems to be compassionate, consistent with the ethos of our society that is inclusive and which must remain inclusive.

These, Sir, are no empty words. This is no political repute. These are articles of faith for my party; these are articles of faith with our leadership. We have sought in the very first Statement to the Nation to convey a clear, unambiguous and undiluted message that whatever else we may or may not be able to do, we will not fail those who expect the State to intervene on their behalf. Sir, we have always believed and so thus the rest of the country that the theory that the State shall wither away shall never come to pass. The State can never wither away because the States *raison d'etre* is to exist for people who cannot fight the forces of the market. The States *raison d'etre* is to pro-actively intervene for those who need the support, the sustenance and protection for the State. We fight political elections along party lines but once the Government is in place the Government is for all the people; it is not for a particular party. Therefore, Sir, the speeches, the Addresses and the dialogues on the President's Address, in my respectful submission, must be bi-partisan. We must lift ourselves above party affiliations, at least, to applaud that part of the Government's agenda which seeks to subserve larger national imperatives, which seeks to rise above party affiliations.

Sir, there are many, many new avenues that we have treaded. I cannot, in the time available to me, seek to speak on each one of them. But I would, with your permission, like to talk about the huge success that we achieved in the past in terms of our Foreign Policy initiatives and

on which we seek to build in the present and the future. Sir, our strategic relationship with global powers is for everybody to see. Our relationship with our neighbouring countries need to be improved. We need to engage more pro-actively with our neighbours, because India today, Sir —it is a matter of pride for me to say so and to repeat it — is an emerging global power. Its perspective, therefore, cannot be one of insulation. We have to look outwards; we have to engage with the rest of the world economically, strategically, politically and to address global challenges. One of the most important factors that we need to take into account today when India seeks to take its place in the global architecture of power is there are many challenges that are not confined to India that we must face in isolation. Climate change, pandemics, human rights violation, destitution, hunger are global challenges. They require global responses and, therefore, our perspective, therefore, our relationship with our neighbours must be defined with a vision that does India proud, that is consistent with its image in the world, that is consistent with its power in the world, that is consistent with the philosophy that India gave to the world. The *Vasudhev Kutumbhkam* was our philosophy that we gave to the world. Globalisation, in a way, is nothing more than an extension of that. But, then, we have to be watchful against the pitfalls of globalisation and that is also what this Address promises.

Sir, on the economic side, I would like to focus on three points. Infrastructural development is to be a key focus. Sir, we are told on high authority that lack of infrastructure accounts for at least two per cent minus GDP growth. So, if you were to add good infrastructure to our GDP growth numbers, we could easily achieve 11 per cent GDP growth by investing in our infrastructure. This Address seeks to assure the nation that public expenditure in infrastructure, particularly, power, roads, highways, airports, etc. will be enhanced.

Sir, the Foreign Direct Investment which has been the subject of heated discussion in both Houses of Parliament has been an important ingredient of our development process. Although I must hasten to add that FDI constitutes only about three per cent to our economic development. There is scope for increasing Foreign Direct Investment and this Address seeks to do exactly that. The President has graciously argued that we need to enhance Foreign Direct Investment.

Sir, as far as telecom is concerned, we are known in the world, as a country, that brought in telecom and IT revolution. But the rural telecom density needs to be increased to 40 per cent in the coming five years. All of that is indicated in the President's Address.

Sir, in the overall commitment to innovation, to technological development, this Address makes a departure. For once, we have seen innovation getting a place of pride in the President's Address. Sir, in a way, when we think of the evolution of a society, when we think of the evolution of our politics, we think of the men and women who contributed to that evolution. As

Will Durant has said, Sir, 'the history of civilization is in a way a sum total of the contribution made by geniuses in terms of their mind and thought in the stairway of progress', and, I think, Sir, the philosophical underpinning of the Presidential Address rightly entitles it to that glory which I would associate with what Will Durant said many years ago.

I know you are looking at me, Sir. I have two more minutes and I will complete. Sir, I would like in summation only to say that at the end of the day, democratic governance is about responsiveness, it is about sensitivity to aspirations, it is about sensitivity to perceptions. This Address, in my view, takes all of that into account and seeks to offer to this country, to a billion-plus people, responsive, humane and caring governance. Sir, two years ago, there was a glowing tribute paid to our country in an article written in the Time Magazine from New York. I need just to cite that article because it effectively concludes what I want to say. Sir, the article wrote, "Sixty years after Independence, India is beginning to deliver on its promise. Over past few years, the world's biggest democracy has matched its political freedoms with economic ones. Unleashing the torrent of growth and wealth creation that is transforming the lives of millions, India's economic clout is beginning to make itself felt on the international stage as the nation retakes the place it held as a global trade giant long before colonial powers ever arrived there." I think, Sir, the Address of the President vindicates what Times wrote two years ago.

We are, Sir, determined to create a rightful place in the comity of nations. We are determined and resolute in our will to translate into action the promises that we made to the people of India. The President's Address enables us to do so. Thank you very much, Sir, for giving me the time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Rajiv Pratap Rudy. The Party time remaining is 16 minutes and there are two speakers from your side. So, please keep that in mind.

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY (Bihar): Sir, this is my maiden speech for this Session.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, for providing me this opportunity. With all great humility we witnessed our defeat and thereafter we heard the hon. President give a great speech which we can say what the Government wants to do for the next five years. She also congratulated the Commission, the Election Commission, for the great job done in this country to protect and see how the democracy and the great democracy worked under the Commission. But, Sir, I have a small submission to start therewith. Sir, we do not know whether we can make comments on the Election Commission which is again a constitutional body. But if the Parliament cannot discuss the Election Commission, I do not know which body under this system would discuss the Commission. But that is a different matter. We can discuss it separately. But, Sir, during the elections — and the largest democracy faced this election — we witnessed, the candidates have a code of conduct, even the workers have a code of conduct, which they are supposed to, even the officers at the subordinate level have some code of conduct. But, unfortunately, the Commission itself does not have any code of conduct.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not very sure if this would be appropriate to mention in the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY: Sir, I do not know but I am just placing certain facts. ...*(Interruptions)*... You can expunge it. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am just saying, Sir, whether the Election Commission has a code of conduct. It is because the officers cannot be transferred during the election or if an officer is posted during the election, he cannot be transferred. But the Commission can change its members when the whole election process is on. Possibly, democracy has not witnessed this ever, but this is a matter of great concern. But, Sir, what I am more concerned today is that two days ago, twenty years behind if you have to look back at China, there was an incident in Tiananmen Square. On 7th June that happened. You recall, in China when youth wanted to have democracy how they were absolutely butchered. That gives me an inkling if the Election Commission continues to do what it does during elections, can we witness something like this if we do not ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid you are transgressing the fine lines which have been carefully defined.

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY: In this Session, I accept what the hon. President had to say about the Election Commission, and I continue my debate. But thereafter I presume that in times to come this Parliament should definitely take up what the Election Commission is supposed to do. We cannot stifle democracy. The largest democracy in the world cannot be stifled. You cannot have flags; you cannot have banners. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is a subject for a separate discussion. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY: Sir, I leave it there...*(Interruptions)*. I proceed further to say something very important. The Government has taken charge in all humility. For five years great job done in the past and great jobs to be done in the future. But, at least, the Government should admit and accept some good things done by other State Governments. The hon. President said that there should be reservation of 50 per cent for women in Panchayats in local bodies. Yes, there is a State Government in this country — the State Government of Bihar which has NDA and JD(U). It has done that. It is a marvellous thing done. Let's be modest and humble. Let's say that there is a Government which has performed like this; we want to adopt it. I was hearing the statement of a young Minister who is a bright Minister of Petroleum. He says that he is planning to introduce and the Government proposes to introduce LPG cylinders in rural areas on a population of one thousand. When he said that, he should also say that this was started by the NDA Government, but, unfortunately, in last five years we discontinued this. If you behave like this and if you say like that, people will feel nice! These were some of the mistakes which we committed. We are sitting here and you are sitting that side. So, if you keep on committing such mistakes, it would be not long when we will come that side and you will come this side.

Now, there is a very important thing. We are talking about 33 per cent reservation. Sitaram*ji* is not here. He was taking the credit of all the good things which happened in the last Government. But the Left could not take the credit of something which the country was looking forward. For the last four years, they were threatening to bring down the Government. But they never threatened to bring down the Government on 33 per cent issue. But now, that stage is over. They don't have this opportunity any more and for all good things which have to be done now. I think the Government should not look from the centre to the Left for bringing down the Government. They don't have to look to them. And for us, for bringing down this Government, we don't have to look to the Left again. So, it is between us. There are problems. On the issue of 33 per cent reservation, there are views expressed by our partners. I am sure that no NDA partner would perform Socratise. I am sure, no one will do that because we understand that they have their own compulsions. We will persuade our NDA partners. We will tell them that this is good for the country.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Reservations in this country has been basically an outcome of inefficiency of the Governments. It was mainly started with reservations in the Constitution. We could not fulfil the dream in ten years. We put it for twenty years, then thirty years, then forty years, then fifty years and then for sixty years. Similarly, when we are failed on other fronts, we have started reservation for certain other categories of people. So, basically it is the failure of Governments one after the other that we had to go for reservation. Gender reservation, of course, is a very great thing which should have been done. But the failure of Governments in the last sixty years of democracy cannot become a chain of reservations. Again, this is a different question. This is a very large question which needs to be debated and that is what we need to address. Sir, young India is under threat. Young India is under attack. When we are talking about the youth, young India in Australia is under attack, and now, a situation has emerged that they have also retaliated. Today, we heard incidents that Indians are retaliating. Now, this is a very serious situation if retaliation starts in Australia. Why is this happening? Here, from this country, every year, almost four-and-a-half lakh students go out to study. We spend more than Rs. 50,000 crores. We repatriate more than Rs. 50,000 crores, the rich resource of this country, to educate our children outside. Why is it happening? What have we done in fifty-five years? Do we have enough universities in this country, or courses of quality? We are repatriating Rs.50,000 crores. The young India is under attack abroad. We cannot help it now and we are just watching it. With this Rs. 50,000 crores, hundreds of IITs could be built; hundreds of IIMs could be built. But, it was never done so. So, it is the time to think what we have been doing for the last fifty-five years and adopt a strategy where we can see that this situation do not emerge.

Now, Sir, good things have to be done. There is a question. When we come to Government, we think whether we come to rule, whether we come to govern, or, the

Government is to facilitate. Now, we have to distinguish. This Government, I am sure, should realise that no one has been in Government permanently. Governments keep on changing, but democracy has to stay; governance has to stay. And, that is why, all the good things, which you want to do, and I will ask the UPA partners and the friends there to bring everything which is good for the country. I remember Mr. Jaitley saying, "We will first support you. Then, we will caution you also. And, we will also put a stop to what you do." Now, we are in the Opposition. It is just like a traffic signal. If you want to bring a good thing, we will give you a green signal; go ahead. Go ahead fast, cross the streets, go ahead; don't look at the left or the right and no other place; go ahead. If you have something which we want to caution, we will put the underline. And, when it is terrible, we will put the red lights on, and this is what we are going to do for the next five years. So, please, be comfortable. Do all good things you want to do and we are all there.

Sir, in this whole process, I heard Mr. Moily saying something about Judiciary, and there is something happening in the Judiciary. Hon. President mentioned about reforms in the judicial process. There was a statement of some Judges in Punjab and Haryana High Court where there are some charges. The Supreme Court has come in and a group of Judges has been investigating the issue and they have come up with certain conclusions that there were certain charges of corruption against a Judge, but, possibly, the Government intervened to say, "No". Now, if we are talking about judicial reforms, if we are talking about a situation where judicial reforms have to be brought, we have to have a complete site of what is happening in this country, and especially, when this is one of the most important pillars of democracy. It has to be taken charge; it has to be taken care. So, judicial reforms is an essential part. But, what is happening on the macro level in the judicial field needs a greater introspection and a greater discussion.

Sir, the debate, in this House and in the other House, started on the World Environment Day - the 5th of June. Now, we have been discussing about environment. We are talking about climate change, carbon emissions and things like that. We are talking about global warming. Sir, there are States in this country which are directly affected by the environmental changes, for example, Bihar. We witnessed the floods in Bihar which displaced almost 40 lakh to 50 lakh people. Now, it is happening year after year. Why is it happening? It is happening because the entire forest reach in the Himalayan regions has been absolutely removed; they have been cut. No Government of the day is working to stop the deforestation, which is taking place in Himalayas, which is causing great devastation of silt and sand which is flowing into this country where the catchment area cannot have any water retention. There is a situation, but the Government is not prepared for a long-time proposal on how to look into these issues. We had the major Kosi flood. We have so many rivers flowing into Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. We have seen it all around. So, the environment issue needs a major address by the Government because it is becoming a major catastrophe.

Sir, we have come to a very interesting thing called disinvestment. Now, with all anxiety and with the Left not there, the Government is talking about disinvestment. Sir, it is perfect disinvestment. We also did it in our Government. They have plans of doing disinvestment. Sir, disinvestment of what — disinvestment of a company, where its basic, core business, may have become eroded, a company which has lost significance, for example, MITCO, if you remember, the Mica Trading Corporation of India. Now, Mica does not have use anymore as far as insulation is concerned.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute, Mr. Rudy. Your party has now got five minutes. I don't mind your taking up the entire five minutes, but there is one more speaker. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. We have 24 more speakers to participate. Please keep that in mind.

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY: Then I shall wind it up, Sir. I have lot many things to say. I am not moving out of this House! So, I shall speak again.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is called a good spirit.

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDY: I will do that, Sir; I shall conclude it right away. My last point is about disinvestment. I had a couple of more points to make but I shall conclude right away. I have absolutely no problem and I shall abide by your request.

Sir, I was on the topic of disinvestment. They were talking about 51 per cent and all that. What do you want to disinvest basically? You want to disinvest companies which are absolutely obsolete, which do not have business. Why do you want to disinvest companies which had become inefficient because of the Government? Now, this is the question: whether you want to disinvest companies which have lost their core or fundamental business, or you want to disinvest companies which are inefficient? Now, here I shall make a point. We, in the NDA Government, did certain privatisation, for example, the Airport Authority of India. This Government may take credit for creating big airports. But the airports which you call world-class today, whether it is Delhi or Mumbai, was not done by the previous Government. It was done because the Airports Authority Act was amended, and the Cabinet approval for the two airports of Delhi and Mumbai, including Shamshabad and Devanahalli, two greenfield airports, and two Government-owned airports, was provided by the NDA Government. The question arises: what happened then? Airport Authority did not get disinvested; a benchmark of excellence was established by an initiative. And today, the Airports Authority is geared up to create world-class airports. Now, this should be the fundamental aim of the Government— to establish benchmarks, to create benchmarks so that the others could watch. Today, we are not talking about disinvesting Airports Authority of India. No one talks about it. It is about making smaller airports, beautiful airports, because the benchmark has been established. They have been told that you need to create airports like this. So, all the smaller airports in this country, whether one witnesses the greenfield projects at Devanahalli and Bangalore, whether it is Delhi and Mumbai, it is a

brainchild and was created and visualised by the NDA Government. Praful is not here ...*(Interruption)*... थोड़ी-सी आपकी तारीफ कर रहा हूं, आपके मित्र की तारीफ कर रहा हूं। आप क्यों हल्ला कर रहे हैं? Now, this is what the Government expected. At the same time, they have done another thing. Now they are talking about disinvesting Air India and Indian Airlines. Now, when you are talking about disinvesting Air India and Indian Airlines, you are trying to do it because they are inefficiently run. Today, all the airlines in this country, Sir, whether it is Indigo, Jet, or any other, all of them are run by ex-officials of Indian Airlines and Air India. All of them are running efficiently, but your own organisation is not running efficiently. Why? The inefficiency of the Government cannot be treated as an alibi to disinvest. This has to be noted, Sir.

There are many other issues I wanted to raise. I wanted to talk about the Food Security Act and many other issues. But I am sure, with my friends here, and Sir, with your gracious presence here, I would get more opportunities. I leave the rest of the time for my great friend here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Rudy. Shri Pyarimohan Mohapatra. One speaker from your party has already spoken. I would like you to take about five minutes.

SHRI PYARIMOHAN MOHAPATRA (Orissa): Mr. Chairman Sir, all the time I have been listening to the Treasury Benches. They have been almost gloating about the decisive mandate that they have got. Whether decisive or not, if they think they have a comfortable mandate, then why are they so insecure that they have made the President read an Address that looks like a document based on the language of electioneering, as if another General Election is going to be held in a year or a year and a half? Otherwise, you would not be selling dreams and utopian fantasies, such as a slum-free India in five years. Do you believe in it?

Making all women literate in five years, as if you believe in those figures of 75 per cent literacy for male and 54 per cent literacy for female in 2001. None of us believe it. It may be half of that. And you are thinking of making quality education a right by law, as if law can make quality education a right, as if law can make food security a right, and, you can ensure food security or quality education by a right.

We have under-paid teachers all over the country. Do you think that they are going to impart quality education at the primary stage? You are wasting so much of money on world-class universities, central universities and what not. Forgetting all the comparisons which were done by Gunnar Myrdal, you made diversion of money from primary, elementary and mass education, which is needed for this country, to higher education, which can be best done by lot of foundations, which can be set up, and, you can persuade and also force the corporates in that direction. In the President's Address, you talked about a lot of young people, and, I quote, "tearing down the narrow domestic walls of religion, region, language, caste, and

gender that confine them. The nation must invest in their hope." Please learn something from these young people instead of pandering to religions and castes for votes and your vote-bank politics. Almost all the political parties do it, why don't you learn?

In your search for inclusive society and inclusive economy, — dozens of references to the word 'inclusive' have been made in the President's Address — you seem to have forgotten that India has a federal structure, and, federal harmony and equity are required. Instead, you discriminate against the non-Congress, non-UPA States. It has been happening in the last five years and it is going to happen again in spite of your saying that 'regional inclusiveness' will be ensured.

Let me give you an example. You accepted the recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission without consulting any of the States knowing fully well that the impact on the economy will be great and the States will have no money thereafter for development or uplifting the poor from poverty. At a time of reduction of wages and salaries worldwide, when everyone is negotiating for reduction of salaries of the employees, you gave a pay hike of sixty to eighty per cent. This is your 'prudent fiscal management!' And, if you go on like this in the next five years, where will our country be thereafter?

You kept on discriminating in declaring any calamity as a calamity of rare magnitude or rare severity. At the time of Gujarat earthquake, you did it with alacrity. Super-cyclone in Orissa in 1999 was not declared as a calamity of rare severity. In 2008, flood in Orissa which was the highest ever since Independence was not declared as a calamity of rare severity. What did you do? Shivraj Patil *ji* went, saw and declared a grant of Rs. 500 crores; Rs. 98 crores came after four months, and, now you are asking it to be paid back, as you are asking the Bihar Government to pay back what was given at the time of Kosi floods. Is this federalism?

Yesterday, I heard Mr. N.K. Singh talking about special-category status for Bihar. How do you determine special-category status? The NDA Government said, these are the norms; you said, these are the norms, unless we sit on a hill or remain on the border, there is no special-category status. I have 38 per cent of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population, 47 per cent people below the poverty line, and, we and Bihar are competing for number one or number two among the poorer States. And, levels of literacy are also very low. Continuous inundation of the economy is taking place by almost annual natural calamities like floods or cyclones. What else do you need to declare a State as a special category State? So, please re-consider this.

You have done the most blatant discrimination against the States like Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Karnataka and Rajasthan, mostly the mining States, where the minerals are exploited without any commensurate royalty being given to the States. You dig up coal. The Government of India mainly does it. You give us a pittance. In case of iron ore also, rupees 300 to 400 is the raising cost. Mine owners have been getting rupees 4,000 to

12.00 Noon

7,000 per ton over the last five years and the States get rupees 27 per ton for royalty. No Government in India, this side or that side, has cared to revise the royalty rates. **(Time-bell rings)**. They have resisted the demand for raising the royalty. Why are you so inclusive towards the mine owners? In Orissa alone, in the last five years, mine owners have been enriched by this denial of 20 per cent *ad valorem* royalty. They have been enriched by 40,000 crores of rupees only on iron ore, forget about other minerals. Why have you enriched them? You have excluded the States and its poor and included the mine owners. Is that your definition of inclusiveness? Please have a relook at it. Don't practise this kind of inclusiveness on us. This is a serious life and death issue. If people revolt in these States, we too will not hesitate to revolt. If this continues, the problem will aggravate only. I am giving you a wake up call on behalf of all these States.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohapatra, your time is over.

SHRI PYARIMOHAN MOHAPATRA: Please give me one more minute. I will conclude.

In case of infrastructure also, you ignore us. Railway infrastructure is very poor. We need at least rupees 2,500 crores a year to complete sanctioned projects in 5 years so that in 10 years' time we can catch up with national average. Otherwise, we will just be left behind. Railways infrastructure is very significant one, without which we cannot improve.

You talk of good governance and energizing the Government in paragraphs 7 and 8. Have you seen a recent study by a Hongkong institution which has put India as number 12, the lowest, in matters of efficiency? It is the worst bureaucracy among the South East Asian countries. So, what can you achieve with this kind of apparatus? **(Time-bell rings)** Your new deal, agriculture, food security, all will come a cropper. I have a lot more points to make but due to paucity of time I conclude here. Thank you.

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर (राजस्थान) : धन्यवाद उपसभापति जी। महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में पिछली यूपीए सरकार के कार्यक्रम, नीतियाँ, जो जनता की कसौटी पर खरी उतरीं, उनके लिए सरकार को बधाई देते हुए और साथ ही चुनाव आयोग को भी बधाई देते हुए उन्होंने वर्तमान यूपीए सरकार की भावी योजनाओं, कार्यक्रमों की जो घोषणा की, उन सभी का मैं हार्दिक स्वागत करती हूँ, तहेदिल से स्वागत करती हूँ। मैं यूपीए की अध्यक्ष श्रीमती सोनिया गाँधी जी को और माननीय प्रधान मंत्री डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ, जिनके समान विचारधारा के कारण और जिनके सामूहिक परिश्रम और प्रयासों के कारण कांग्रेस को इस बार भारी जनादेश प्राप्त हुआ, जिसकी कल्पना भी किसी ने नहीं की थी। सबके सोचे हुए गणित फेल हो गए। उसके बावजूद हमारे कई विपक्षी साथी जो यह कह रहे हैं कि सरकार का फेल्योर रहा है, तो मैं उनसे यही कहना चाहूंगी कि 100 में से 100 कार्य तो कोई भी सरकार सम्पन्न नहीं कर सकती, 100 में से 100 मांगें तो माता-पिता भी अपने बच्चे की पूरी नहीं कर सकते और स्वयं भगवान भी पूरी नहीं कर सकते। चूंकि पिछली यूपीए सरकार ने कथनी और करनी में अंतर नहीं बताया और जैसा कहा, अपने घोषणा पत्र में जनता से जो भी वायदे किए, उनके प्रति पूरी ईमानदारी के साथ प्रतिबद्धता दिखाई। इसीलिए देश की जनता

ने प्रदेशों में चाहे किसी को भी मतदान किया हो, लेकिन देश हित के लिए, देश की एकता अखंडता के लिए, देश में सद्भावना बनाए रखने के लिए, राष्ट्र के विकास और भारत निर्माण के लिए कांग्रेस को ही चुना और भारी बहुमत से चुना। इस बार जो कमियां रह गई हैं, मैं निश्चित रूप से जानती हूं कि अगली बार के दौरान वे कमियां भी दूर हो जाएंगी और कांग्रेस निश्चित रूप से दो-तिहाई बहुमत के साथ जीत कर आएगी, ताकि सरकार पर किसी तरह का कोई दबाव नहीं रहे। जैसा कि जनता चाहती है कि सरकार फ्री-हैंडस के साथ, अपनी भावना के साथ, अपनी सोच के साथ, बिना किसी दबाव और प्रभाव के काम कर सके, वह अवसर इस बार जनता ने दिया है और आगे आने वाले समय में वह और भी बढ़-चढ़ कर इस प्रकार का मौका देगी।

महोदय, बहुत-से लोग आलोचना करते रहे कि सत्ता 10 जनपथ से चल रही है। कई लोग तरह-तरह की बातें कहते रहे, लेकिन इस बात की किसी ने प्रशंसा नहीं की कि यह सत्ता और संगठन का एक बेहतर तालमेल है, जो अन्य दलों में भी होना चाहिए एवं अन्य दलों को भी इसका अनुकरण करना चाहिए। यूपीए की माननीय अध्यक्षा को लेकर, हमारे यूपीए के तमाम सहयोगी दलों ने उनके मार्गदर्शन में काम किया। कभी विवाद नहीं रहा, हमेशा एक-जुटता रही। भारत निर्माण, ग्रामीण विकास, नरेगा योजना, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, जवाहरलाल शहरी नवीकरण योजना, महिला सशक्तीकरण, आर्थिक विकास दर, अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति, पिछड़े वर्गों के अलावा जो सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, उनको एवं उनके परिवार वालों को राहत देने के लिए छठे वेतन आयोग की रिपोर्ट को लागू करना, ये सब ऐसी बातें रहीं, जिन पर पिछली यूपीए सरकार ने ईमानदारी के साथ अमल किया। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि जो जाति, धर्म, सम्प्रदाय, भाषा और प्रान्त की राजनीति करने वाले लोग थे, जनता ने उनको पहचाना कि यह केवल राजनीति की बातें करते हैं। राजनीति और काम करने के अंतर को जनता ने पहचाना और विकास को वोट दिया, काम को वोट दिया, मनमोहन सिंह जी को वोट दिया, सोनियां जी को वोट दिया। इस बार मैं युवा नेता राहुल गांधी जी की भी प्रशंसा करना चाहूंगी, जिनके अथक प्रयासों से, सच्चे परिश्रम से उत्तर प्रदेश में कांग्रेस के जो नतीजे आए हैं, उनकी कोई कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता था और मैं जानती हूं कि उसके कारण आज कई नेतागण परेशान भी हैं। अब यह ऐसा समय आ गया है जब जनता को यह महसूस हुआ है कि हिंसा, फसाद और भेदभाव की राजनीति से राजनीतिज्ञों को तो सत्ता मिल जाती है, लेकिन उससे जनता को क्या मिलता है? जब भी धर्म, सम्प्रदाय अथवा भाषा के नाम पर फसाद होते हैं, जो राजनेता इस तरह के फसाद करवाते हैं, उससे उनको क्या हासिल होता है? इन सब के कारण जनता को असुरक्षा एवं अविश्वास के माहोल में जीना पड़ता है, लेकिन दूसरे लोगों को सत्ता मिल जाती है। लोगों ने इस सच्चाई को महसूस किया, इसीलिए जनता ने यह निर्णय लिया कि विकास के लिए वोट दिया जाए और विकास के लिए ही वोट दिया गया।

महोदय, यह भी सच है कि जो सहयोगी दल, हमारे साथ रह कर चुनाव में रहे और इस सरकार ने जो काम किया, उसके कारण जनता ने उन्हें भी जन समर्थन दिया और वे दल विजयी होकर आए। लेकिन जो दल सत्ता के समय हमारे सहयोगी रहे, लेकिन अंतिम वक्त पर अलग हो गए, उनको जनता ने भी नकार दिया और यह बात वे समझ भी गए हैं।

तो एक बात यह स्पष्ट रूप से समझ में आई कि यह जनादेश डा0 मनमोहन सिंह जी को और कांग्रेस पार्टी को मिला। महोदय, डा0 मनमोहन सिंह जी ने परमाणु करार के समय जिस क्षमता और दृढ़ता का परिचय दिया, सरकार को भी दांव पर लगाया, लेकिन कोई समझौता नहीं किया, उनकी इस बात की देश की जनता ने सराहना की।

महोदय, मुझे अभी महिला आरक्षण के बारे में विशेष रूप से बोलना है।

श्री उपसभापति : जिस विषय पर विशेष रूप से बोलना है, उस पर पहले बोलना था और जब वक्त की कमी हो तो आपको बाकी पॉइंट्स पर आ जाना चाहिए।

श्रीमती प्रभा ठाकुर : महोदय, मेरी घड़ी में अभी सिर्फ चार मिनट हुए हैं।

श्री उपसभापति : नहीं, चार मिनट नहीं हुए, मेरे पास घड़ी है और मैं इसे देखकर ही बता रहा हूं।

श्रीमती प्रभा ठाकुर : महोदय, "नरेगा" जना हमारी सरकार की एक विशेष उपलब्धि रही जिससे महिला किसानों को बहुत राहत मिली है।

महोदय, मैं महिला आरक्षण विधेयक की इस संकल्पना के लिए कि वह सौ दिनों में इस विधेयक को पटल पर विचार के लिए लाएंगे, इस सरकार को विशेष बधाई देती हूं। महोदय, सरकार की मंशा तो पिछली बार इसे राज्य सभा में प्रस्तुत करते समय ही प्रकट हो गयी थी। आज कई विपक्षी दल भी इस विधेयक का समर्थन कर रहे हैं, मैं इसके लिए उन्हें बधाई देती हूं, लेकिन कई दल जो जहर तक खा लेने की बात कर रहे हैं, मैं उनसे यह निवेदन करना चाहती हूं कि इस देश की महिलाओं ने अब तक बहुत जहर पिया है और आज उनके राजनीतिक सशक्तीकरण का समय आया है, राजीव गांधी जी का अधूरा सपना पूरा होने का समय आया है। महिलाओं को पंचायतों, नगर निगमों व निकायों में 25 फीसदी आरक्षण देने की सरकार ने घोषणा की है, मैं समझती हूं इसका सभी को स्वागत करना चाहिए। जो लोग यह बात करते हैं कि पिछड़ों, अल्पसंख्यकों का पहले रिजर्वेशन निश्चित किया जाए, रिजर्वेशन में रिजर्वेशन हो, उन दलों से मेरा यह विनम्र निवेदन है कि संसद की जो वर्तमान व्यवस्था है, उसमें कभी यह सवाल क्यों नहीं उठाया गया? आज जो पुरुष प्रधान व्यवस्था संसद में है, उसमें उन्होंने कभी यह मांग क्यों नहीं उठायी कि यहां ओ0बी0सी0 के आरक्षण की इतने प्रतिशत जरूरत है या अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के आरक्षण की इतने प्रतिशत जरूरत है? सिर्फ आज जब महिला आरक्षण की बात आती है तब ओ0बी0सी0 के लिए आरक्षण की बात जो नेतागण उठाते हैं, उनसे मेरा यह विनम्र निवेदन है कि इस समय महिलाओं के राजनीतिक सशक्तीकरण में वे बाधा न बनें। मैं जानती हूं कि आज सोनिया गांधी जी की तरह अपने पद का त्याग करना किसी के लिए कोई आसान बात नहीं है, प्रधान मंत्री जैसे पद का त्याग करना कोई आसान बात नहीं है, लेकिन फिर भी महिलाओं के राजनीतिक सशक्तीकरण लिए हमारे भाईयों को कुछ त्याग तो करना ही पड़ेगा। उनके लिए भी इस देश की महिलाओं ने मां, पत्नी, बहन व बेटी के रूप में बहुत त्याग किया है, बहुत सेवा की है और आज जब उनके राजनीतिक सशक्तीकरण का समय आया है तो उन्हें आप सब के समर्थन की जरूरत है।

मैं डा0 मनमोहन सिंह जी की सरकार को बधाई देते हुए कहना चाहूंगी कि उनकी जो कार्यशैली रही है, जिस तरह से वह काम करते रहे हैं, उसी तरह वह आगे भी काम करते रहेंगे। मैं उनके लिए कहना चाहूंगी कि, "शीशा हो कि पत्थर कभी रुककर नहीं देखा, जब चल पड़े तो फिर कभी मुड़कर नहीं देखा। जिस दिन से चला हूं, बस मंजिला पर नज़र है, आंखों ने कभी मील का पत्थर नहीं देखा।" उनकी मंजिल जनसेवा की है और इसी कारण से वर्ष 2009 के चुनाव परिणाम मिले हैं। अब महिला आरक्षण विधेयक पारित होगा और जितनी संकल्पनाएं व घोषणाएं सरकार ने की हैं, वे पहले भी पूरी कर के दिखायी हैं और इस बार भी वे खाली कागजी कल्पनाएं नहीं रहेंगी, वे कागजी वायदे नहीं रहेंगे, सरकार उनको अमल में लाएगी और महिलाओं का विशेष रूप से सशक्तीकरण होगा। धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Gyan Prakash Pilania. You have only five minutes क्योंकि पार्टी का समय पूरा हो गया है।

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA (Rajasthan): Sir, if you will threaten me, I won't be able to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not threatening. I am requesting that this much time is available within which you have to confine yourself.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Sir, time available to a man is given by the God Almighty. Sir, time available in Rajya Sabha is given by your honour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am constrained.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: No, I am not praying that you give me a very special concession. Whatever time is there, it will be all right.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am giving you five minutes. That is the time at your disposal.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: And five minutes as a grace!

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Kindly see that you convey to the House, whatever you want to convey, in five minutes.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: Very, very kind of you, Sir, for your indulgence.

Sir, BJP has, unqualifiedly, extended a hand of friendship to UPA because UPA has got people's verdict, and they want to help them in bringing forth all good legislations, which they can, for the country provided they are worthwhile. So, it is a limited kind of gesture of goodwill, and in view of that, I am not going to censure or, in any way, admonish whatever has been given in this Address by the President, which reflects a packet of promises. And after all, a man lives by promises and dreams, and many times, not by reality.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to point out certain grave and glaring omissions in this Address. Number one is regarding racial attacks on Indians in Australia. In para 45, there is only line: "The Indian diaspora estimated at over twenty-five million across the world is an important economic, social and cultural force and my Government will deepen its engagement with it." No mention of what is happening in Australia! No mention of what atrocities are being committed on our people abroad! No mention of how grave their life is in danger! There must have been a clear mention on this issue; that is my submission. In Melbourne, Your Honour, every day, on an average, four Indians are victims of crimes such as robbery and assault. Statewise figures show that in 2007-08, 1,447 people of Indian origin were victims of crimes, an increase of 365, from 1082, the previous year, to 1447; a 34 per cent jump! I mean, it is a matter of very serious concern for every Indian, across our party lines, and I wish there would have been a very forceful projection, by the Government of India, of a kind of resentment, of a kind of reminder to the Australian Government.

Another grave omission is regarding suicide by farmers. It is continuously going on. And 17,000, yearly, is the figure. Sir, 17,000 farmers—it is an official statistics—commit suicide every year. During the last years, the figure comes to 1,70,000. It is something which shakes up everyone. If a tiger dies, there will be a headline. If there is a tiger death, there will be a concern; there will be a probe. But if a farmer dies, it does not make a news! When 70 per cent of the population constitutes farmers, it is a matter which needs reflection, by that side and this side, by everyone concerned.

Next is, Your Honour, regarding female foeticide. It has not been mentioned. A female is not safe even in her womb! She is not safe in the house; she is not safe in the temple; she is not safe in the bazaar; she is not safe in an educational institute. And she is not safe in Delhi, the Capital, where a Swiss Diplomat, when she was gang-raped, left in abhorrence and said, "India is not safe for women!" It is a matter to be looked into. And so far, we have not been able to catch the culprits.

Another point is regarding Bangladeshi infiltrators. They are a curse for the country. They are unauthorised people who have come. Demographic transformation is taking place. They are disturbing peace; they are disturbing tranquillity. They are a kind of danger to the sovereignty, security and integrity of the nation. There is no mention about that! There is no mention about the rehabilitation of five lakh Kashmiri Pandits! I mean, they live in this country, uprooted from their own homes, and nobody bothers about them! These glaring and grave omissions, your honour, need attention of the Government.

I congratulate the Government in the same breath because of their declaration of early passage of the Women Reservation Bill. We are all for this. But in this matter there should be a consensus.

There is mention of Dalits only once in this whole Address and that pertains to an elite Dalit, the Lok Sabha Speaker, a very distinguished person, who has been elected. But I want to speak about *sashaktikaran* of not liberated and elite women, common women who are not safe anywhere. I would like to quote Amritlal Nagar who said, "In Indian society there are two born slaves, the scavenger and the woman". Women need very special care and I know that there is an awakening in the new Government, and it is welcome. We congratulate the Government for this. But much has to be done for that woman who is still having a *ghoonghat* and who is still using her *angutha* to put her thumb impression on a document, where female literacy is only 54 per cent even after 62 years of independence.

I will speak two sentences about Dalit apartheid which is going on in the country because, I think, your honour, it is a very important point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: I will just conclude. There has been a survey very recently by Jansahas and UNICEF in 24 villages of four districts of Madhya Pradesh, which has revealed something and which is shocking for everyone. More than 63 per cent Dalit children were discriminated against at schools and Anganwadi centres. Dalit students were served meals last. They must use separate plates and can't occupy front benches. The Dalit boys hold out their hands for bread tossed to them. They are not allowed metal plates which are reserved only for upper caste students. They must use plates made of leaves. If this kind of apartheid continues, do you think that it will be inclusive growth? Anyhow, my time is over.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

DR. GYAN PRAKASH PILANIA: I will conclude with a quote and an ambition that there is a revelation of expectation in the people because they had given a verdict for stability, security, development and good governance, and we hope and pray that the new Government rises to the occasion. I will quote here, with your permission, what Kautilya said as a guidance. Let it be a guideline:

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम ।।

It means that in the happiness of the subjects lies the king's happiness; in their welfare his welfare; what pleases himself the king shall not consider good but whatever pleases his subjects the king shall consider good.

I hope this will be kept in mind by the new lords who are now governing the country. I hope that persons of unbending rectitude and integrity like Mr. Antony and others will rise to the occasion. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Shri Shivanand Tiwari. आपका समय 5 मिनट है।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी (बिहार): सर, अभी 10 मिनट होगा।

श्री उपसभापति: आपके दल के अन्य सदस्य बोल चुके हैं।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं अभी अपनी बात शुरू करूँगा। हमारे उड़ीसा के साथी माननीय श्री प्यारीमोहन महापात्र जी बोल रहे थे। उन्होंने बहुत गंभीर शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया। उन्होंने कहा कि जिस तरह से उनके राज्य के साथ भेदभाव हो रहा है, वहाँ के लोग इतने ऊब चुके हैं कि उन्होंने बगावत की चेतावनी दी है। उपसभापति महोदय, यह कोई साधारण बात नहीं है। उन्होंने बिल्कुल सही कहा कि जिस तरह से दिल्ली की सरकार राज्य की सरकारों के साथ भेदभाव कर रही है, राज्य सरकारों को उपनिवेश बनाकर रखा है, उससे लोगों के अंदर इतना frustration, असंतोष और गुस्सा है कि हम उसको बयान नहीं कर सकते। उन्होंने जिस भावना को व्यक्त किया है - मैं बिहार से आता हूँ - मैं उस भावना का समर्थन करता हूँ। आपने पिछले साल देखा कि कोसी में पानी का भीषण तांडव मचा और खुद प्रधान मंत्री जी वहां गए, प्रधान मंत्री जी के साथ UPA की Chairperson श्रीमती सोनिया गांधी जी वहां गईं और प्रधान मंत्री जी ने वहां कहा कि यह राष्ट्रीय आपदा है, National Calamity है, लेकिन उसके बावजूद आज तक हमको वहां reconstruction and rehabilitation के लिए एक पैसा तक नहीं मिला। बिहार की सरकार ने 14,808 करोड़ रुपए का पैकेज मांगा, जो हमें आज तक नहीं मिला। आपने बिहार को बांट दिया, वहां झारखंड राज्य बन गया। उस समय की केन्द्र सरकार ने यह वायदा किया था कि बिहार को जो नुकसान हुआ है, उसकी हम भरपाई करेंगे, लेकिन उसकी भरपाई आज तक नहीं हुई। इस तरह से बिहार राज्य को उपनिवेश बनाकर रखा गया है।

उपसभापति जी, आज बिहार में बैंकों के अंदर बिहारी लोगों का जो पैसा जमा है, उसकी C-D Ratio आप देखिए, हमारे यहां यह 33 परसेंट है, जब कि राष्ट्रीय औसत 78 परसेंट का है। हमारे यहां का पैसा दूसरे प्रदेशों में जा रहा है। हमको याद है कि अंग्रेज़ों ने इस देश को उपनिवेश बनाया था और उसका किस तरह से शोषण हो रहा था, इस पर दादाभाई नौरोजी ने "Drain of Wealth" नामक किताब लिखी थी, जो बहुत चर्चित

हुई थी। आज इस तरह के जो पिछड़े राज्य हैं, पिछड़े इलाके हैं, उनका किस तरह से शोषण हो रहा है, उनके यहां की संपत्ति किस तरह बाहर जा रही है, यदि इस पर शोध हो, तो उसके चौंकाने वाले नतीजे आएंगे।

उपसभापति जी, इसी के साथ मैं अपनी बात शुरू करता हूं। हमारे रूलिंग पार्टी के साथी अपनी पीठ थपथपाकर यह दावा कर रहे हैं कि उनकी सरकार की पिछले 5 वर्षों की जो नीतियां रही हैं, जो कार्यक्रम रहे हैं, उनसे प्रभावित होकर जनता ने उन्हें अप्रत्याशित रूप से समर्थन दिया है। यह बिल्कुल सही बात है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी को भी यह उम्मीद नहीं थी कि इस तरह का जन-समर्थन उनको मिलेगा।

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर रखे गए धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव पर हमारे कई साथियों ने अपने विचार यहां व्यक्त किए हैं। कल हमारे साथी श्री एन.के. सिंह साहब बोल रहे थे, श्री सीताराम येचुरी जी का भाषण मैंने सुना था। सारे आंकड़े और सारे तथ्य यही बता रहे हैं कि पिछले 5 वर्षों में देश में गरीबी बढ़ी है, पिछले 5 वर्षों में देश में बेरोज़गारी बढ़ी है। UNO का जो Human Development Index होता है, यदि उसको देखें, तो वर्ष 2006-07 में जहां हम 128वें स्थान पर थे, वर्ष 2008 में हम 132वें स्थान पर आ गए हैं। यही डेवलपमेंट है और इसी बात पर मुग्ध होकर जनता ने इन्हें वोट दिया है, यह बात हमारे गले के नीचे नहीं उतरती है। ऐसी हालत में, जब कि गरीबी बढ़ी, बेरोज़गारी बढ़ी, भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ा, गैर-बराबरी बढ़ी, इस पर जनता मुग्ध होकर किसी को वोट देगी, यह हम मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं। जनता ने इन्हें मुग्ध होकर वोट नहीं दिया है, बल्कि जो विरोधी दल हैं, उनसे क्षुब्ध होकर इन्हें वोट दिया है। विरोधी दलों ने महंगाई को मुद्दा नहीं बनाया, विरोधी दलों ने बेरोज़गारी और गरीबी को मुद्दा नहीं बनाया। ऐसे-ऐसे मुद्दे चुनाव में बनाए गए, जिनको जनता ने पसंद नहीं किया, जनता ने उनको खारिज किया और मेरा यह मानना है कि इनसे मुग्ध होकर जनता ने इनको mandate नहीं दिया है, बल्कि विरोधी दलों से क्षुब्ध होकर जनता ने इनको यह mandate दिया है।

उपसभापति जी, यह जो महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है, इसमें कई सपने दिखाए गए हैं और हमें ऐसा लगता है कि जब भी राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण होता है, उसमें कई तरह के सपने दिखाए जाते हैं, गरीबों को, बेरोज़गारों को, किसानों को सपने दिखाए जाते हैं कि तुम्हारी तकलीफ अब दूर होने वाली है, लेकिन वह तकलीफ कैसे दूर होगी? हर अभिभाषण के बाद उनकी हालत जस की तस रहती है, बल्कि और खराब होती जा रही है।

उपसभापति जी, मैं आपको स्मरण कराना चाहूंगा कि स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने कहा था कि हम यहां से जो एक रुपया गरीबों के लिए भेजते हैं, उसमें से उनके पास मात्र 15 पैसे पहुंचते हैं। इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस पार्टी के महासचिव श्री राहुल गांधी जी ने कहा कि गरीबों के पास केवल 10 पैसे पहुंचते हैं। आपने इसका प्रबंध नहीं किया कि आप जो रुपया गरीबों के उत्थान के लिए, उनकी तरक्की के लिए भेज रहे हैं, वह एक रुपया उन तक पहुंच जाए। अगर उन तक 10 पैसे या 15 पैसे पहुंचेंगे, तो ...(व्यवधान)

श्री तारिक अनवर (महाराष्ट्र): बांटने का काम आपका है, स्टेट में बांटने का काम आपका है ...(व्यवधान)

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : बांटने का काम आपका है, प्रदेश सरकार का है .... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : यह पूरे देश की बात हो रही है, कोई एक जगह की बात नहीं हो रही है, कोई एक राज्य की बात नहीं हो रही है। मैडम, मैं आपके लिए ही कह रहा हूं ...(व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : प्रभा जी, इनको बोलने दीजिए, आप बीच में मत बोलिए।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : उपसभापति जी, मैं यह कह रहा था कि इसका उपाय होना चाहिए, यह कोई एक पक्ष या दूसरे पक्ष की बात नहीं है, यह पूरे देश के लिए चिंता की बात है। इसका एक उपाय है और कल हमारे साथी श्री एन.के. सिंह जी ने उसकी ओर इशारा किया था। हमारी पार्टी Janta Dal (U) ने अपने घोषणापत्र में यह मांग की है कि जितनी तरह की सब्सिडी इस देश में है, चाहे आप BPL के नीचे वालों को सब्सिडी देते हैं

या किसानों को सब्सिडी देते हैं या Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribe को सब्सिडी देते हैं। आप इन सारे लोगों की एक सूची बनाएं और पैसा सीधे उनके बैंक account में डालिए। यह जो middle-man में, दलाली में और घूसखोरी में पैसा जा रहा है और इसको manage करने के लिए जो इतना बड़ा प्रशासनिक तंत्र बना हुआ है, उसका खर्च भी बचेगा और यह जो लीकेज है, लीकेज क्या है, यह जो सारे का सारा पैसा ही निकल जा रहा है, उसको भी आप रोक सकते हैं। जब तक आप यह इंतजाम नहीं करते हैं, तब तक आपने जो वायदा किया है, उस वायदे पर कोई भरोसा करने वाला नहीं है।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं विनिवेश की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। इस बात की बड़ी जोर-शोर से चर्चा हो रही है। इस सरकार में जो संपत्ति बनी है, वह इनके पहले की सरकारों ने कायम की है। हमारे समाज में अगर कोई पुरखों की संपत्ति को बेच दे या उसको बंधक रख दे, तो उसको अच्छा नहीं माना जाता है। उस वारिस को लायक नहीं माना जाता है, उसे नालायक माना जाता है। अगर ऐसी हालत है कि सरकार का जो घाटा है, उसको पूरा करने के लिए या सरकार की जो योजनाएं हैं, उनको पूरा करने के लिए आप सरकारी कंपनियों का विनिवेश करना चाहते हैं, तो मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने छठे वेतन आयोग की अनुशंसा को क्यों माना? इस देश में पैसे की कहां कमी है। हम अखबार में पढ़ते हैं कि इस देश में ऐसे-ऐसे पैसे वाले हैं, जो अपनी बीवी के जन्म दिन पर चार-चार सौ करोड़ रुपए का हवाई जहाज गिफ्ट करते हैं, तीन-तीन सौ, चार-चार सौ करोड़ रुपए का yatch गिफ्ट करते हैं। इस तरह की जो सारी कार्रवाई है, क्या इसको vulgar exhibition of wealth नहीं माना जाएगा?

उपसभापति महोदय, देश में इस तरह से गैर-बराबरी बढ़ रही है कि एक जिले में जो कलैक्टर है, उसकी तनख्वाह छठे वेतन आयोग के बाद 75 हजार, 80 हजार रुपए महीना हो गयी है और इस सरकार ने अर्जुन सेनगुप्ता की अध्यक्षता में जो कमिटी बनाई थी, उसका कहना है कि 71 प्रतिशत लोगों की आमदनी-खर्च बीस रुपए से कम है। आप उस जिले में इतनी बड़ी गैर-बराबरी पैदा कर रहे हैं। जिले का कलैक्टर और जिले के आम आदमी के बीच में कितनी बड़ी खाई पैदा कर रहे हैं। हमारे संविधान का Directive Principle कहता है कि हम आगे चल कर ऐसी व्यवस्था करेंगे कि गैर-बराबरी कम हो, लेकिन आज व्यक्ति और व्यक्ति के बीच में गैर-बराबरी है, रिजन और रिजन के बीच में गैर-बराबरी है, इस तरह से आप संविधान के विरोध में काम कर रहे हैं। आप ऐसी हालत खुद पैदा कर रहे हैं, जिससे मजबूर होकर आपको अपनी संपत्ति बेचनी पड़े। उपसभापति महोदय, यह लायकियत नहीं है, यह नालायकियत है। मैं सलाह दूंगा कि अगर आप सचमुच गरीबों की बेहतरी चाहते हैं, उनकी तरक्की चाहते हैं, तो उनके पैसे की जो लूट हो रही है, जो स्वयं आपके नेता स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी जी ने कहा है और आज राहुल गांधी जी जिस बात को कह रहे हैं, उसका उपाय कीजिए, उसके बगैर उपाय नहीं है। मैं एक और बात कह कर अपनी बात समाप्त करुंगा।

महोदय, कांग्रेस पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय महासचिव राहुल गांधी जी की बहुत चर्चा होती है कि उन्होंने चुनाव में बहुत मेहनत की है और उन्हें उसका श्रेय दिया जा रहा है। मैं तो कहूंगा कि इस पर शोध हो कि राहुल गांधी की महिमा के कारण कांग्रेस को इतनी सीटें आईं या वरुण गांधी की महिमा के कारण उसको इतनी सीटें आईं। मुझे लगता है कि इसमें राहुल गांधी से ज्यादा वरुण गांधी की भूमिका है, जिससे reaction पैदा हुआ और कांग्रेस को इतने वोट मिले। इसी सुझाव के साथ, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। आपको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद !

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, there are still 21 Members who have to participate in the debate. The hon. Prime Minister will reply to the debate at 4 o' clock. Before that, we have to complete the discussion. Even if we skip the lunch hour, we will just have three-and-a-half hours left.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI (Maharashtra): We have all been waiting since yesterday morning...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am calling the speakers according to the list. I would only like to tell the Members that if they exceed their time, then, they will be encroaching upon the right of other Members.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Ultimately, we will be the sufferers. Would you permit us to table our speeches?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No; that is not done. Now, Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan.

DR. (SHRIMATI) KAPILA VATSYAYAN (Nominated): How many minutes, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have six minutes.

DR. (SHRIMATI) KAPILA VATSYAYAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir.

I rise here with a certain amount of diffidence and hesitation but equal conviction; I have gone through the Address of the hon. President and I would like to commend the comprehensiveness of the Address and the vision statement that it places. However, I think that at this time some priorities need to be underlined and I, only in telegraphic English, since English is the language that we are speaking in, want to draw attention to that.

First and foremost, paragraph 40. This paragraph deals with climate change and global warming. And it deals with the intention of six different missions. I just want to humbly state that the climate, Earth and the universe are interconnected and are a single system which cannot be broken up into constituents. We have, in this country, the idea of the *panch mahabhoot* which is also in all other cultures and that, therefore, one ecological mission to address ourselves to the ecological imbalances that have occurred on this earth outside either finding fault or talking even about nation-states. Out of this comes another corollary because in this country if ecological imbalances have been disturbed it is because what has happened to our glaciers, and if there is no *Gangotri*, there is no Ganga about which we have been speaking. And the cleanliness of the Ganga is not just a question of physical cleanliness, it is a question of psychical and spiritual cleanliness, because we have taken away value from the idea of the purity of the physical in turn for the purity of the self and value, which takes me, Sir, to the question of the indigenous people who have kept our environment and who are the great reservoir of local knowledge systems. And we need to address ourselves as to how we take into consideration all the people who know about mangroves, about water systems, about step-wells and so on and, if that be so, then, what about females? We have talked about Female Literacy Mission and this is fine and must be commended. But have we seen that all that we wear, all the *chiken,* all the *kaanthas,* all the *phulkaaries,* all that is in the Delhi Haat and all that we exhibit on ourselves, on our sarees, on our persons, to talk about the Indian identity, that identity is given by the illiterate women of India? And have we equalised their knowledge? They have a knowledge system. And that brings me to the fact that this country has always equalised oral transmission along with the

literate tradition because the *shruti* was primary and the *smriti* was secondary. And, therefore, to fall into that trap of a vertical thing by only in terms of what we consider to be the lettered and not thinking in terms of the still continuing oral traditions of this country would mean imbalances and they would mean exclusivity and no inclusivity, because inclusivity means the optimum creative levels of all human beings. And, thus, in the educational system and in the Knowledge Commission Report that I have seen, it says that we shall start teaching everybody English from Class I for success— underline the word 'success'. And I have quotes here, from Gandhiji, Tagore, and Aurobindo, all as they spoke in 1909 as it happens, and we are in 2009.

All of them said the primacy is on the mother tongue. The primacy, they have said, English along with the mother tongue and regional languages. तो भाई, अगर यह हो जाएगा तो कोई टैगोर नहीं होने वाला है, कोई बंकिमचन्द्र नहीं होने वाला है, कोई प्रेमचंद नहीं होने वाला है, कोई नानक नहीं होने वाला है, कोई कबीर नहीं होने वाला है क्योंकि अपनी भाषा के ऊपर तो आपका कोई अधिकार नहीं होने वाला है, क्योंकि जो मातृभाषा है, उसका हमने जो मूल्यांकन किया है, उसमें हमने उसको गौण बना दिया है। इस प्रधान और गौण के अंतर को हमें फिर से ठीक करना है। And, finally, I come back to the indigenous people and the craftsmen. Craftsmen have been the instruments of communication system. And in the Rajiv Gandhi Yojana which has done so wonderfully well, a *kumhar* comes to me and says, माता जी, अब तो कुम्हार का काम नहीं कर रहा हूं अब हम खाली पत्थर कूट रहे हैं क्योंकि उससे पैसे ज्यादा मिल जाते हैं। अब हम लुहार का काम नहीं कर रहे हैं क्योंकि लुहारी में तो इतनी रोज़ी करनी ही होती है। इस संबंध में मुझे एक छोटी सी टिप्पणी करनी है कि अगर कुम्हार नहीं होगा तो कबीर नहीं होगा, लुहार नहीं होगा तो विश्वकर्मा नहीं होगा इसलिए इस ओर भी ध्यान देना चाहिए। धन्यवाद।

SHRI ARJUN KUMAR SENGUPTA (West Bengal): Thank you very much Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I thought I was going to be called at 3.00 p.m. and make some of the observations. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But there are a lot of constraints.

SHRI ARJUN KUMAR SENGUPTA: That is fine because the time is limited. I just wanted to mention a few things about the Speech. I don't want to comment on many different aspects which are very important because this election has been a watershed in the Indian history. Many things have happened which people will be noting, people will be talking about. But to me the most important message that this victory has given to the Congress Party is that it is a victory of the Left. Unfortunately, the Left Parties have completely misused their position and they have gone out of the mainstream. But the fact that this Congress Party's election victory was a victory of the inclusive development, victory of the programmes that are talking about the equitable development, it is a victory of the Left. This definition of the Left is not my definition. It is a French Revolution definition. The idea is, the Left is for the downtrodden, for the under-privileged, for the poor, for the vulnerable, and it is that which is the most important segment in a society.

Sir, I would like to quote paragraph 6 extensively because I think this is, probably, the most significant paragraph in this Speech. It has, of course, touched on other areas, but the reference here is to the fundamental characterisation of the country's development process. I quote, "In 2004 my Government had set before the country a vision of an inclusive society and an inclusive economy. It worked diligently towards translating this vision into policies and programmes. My Government sees the overwhelming mandate it has received as a vindication of the policy architecture of inclusion that it put in place. It is a mandate for inclusive growth, equitable development and a secular and plural India. My Government is determined to work harder and better to realize these goals." And this is the notion, the idea of the Left we get from the French Revolution of 1789.

Sir, the main reason for my mentioning this is that the next sentence talks about 'a continuing priority of my Government would be to consolidate the ongoing flagship programmes for inclusion'. And it is those flagship programmes which we should identify and by committing ourselves that they should be fulfilled. Sir, for the sake of record, I would like to put it before the House, for your knowledge so that you can keep following the work of the National Commission of Enterprises of the Unorganised Sector, NCEUS. That Commission has now been disbanded after the 30th of April. But the work has been done, ten volume report has been made and all of them have been reflected - I would say all of them have been reflected — in this Speech, if not all of them in the earlier years. Sir, when this Commission was formed, we were given the task of examining the conditions of living of the poor and vulnerable and suggest the measures. In 2007, we brought out a report which gave the picture of the condition of the living of these people and it became famous that Rs.20 per day, per head was expenditure on which 77 per cent of people live in our country and this condition of people affects almost 85 per cent of our Dalits, our Muslims and our vulnerable people. This became very famous, everybody talks about it, but then this was the situation of 2004-05. The Prime Minister himself here mentioned that this is the time when the Government came to power. Very few people have talked about the recommendations that were made in that Report which is a very critical aspect of the flagship programme. Sir, many recommendations are there. I am not going into that but let me point out about this NREGP. Now, NREGP is not a simple programme of giving certain employment to the poor people, it is a programme of the "Left", giving the poor people, the rural landless people the rights to eke out a living in an honourable way. So, this is a different approach to the system, 100 days minimum employment guarantee. We worked out the whole scheme, pointed out the problems that they had and the three major problems had been reported there. Problems were, (A) they were not always associated with other programmes, (B) there were not adequate methods of monitoring and dispute settlement and (C) social audit. And this is the result we got from examining the places where it had actually worked and which have been reported. If we are

really going to follow this programme through, we have to see that these things are actually done. Secondly, in 2008, we said that this program me now should be extended to the urban areas. I am glad to know that this has been recognised now and that this programme will now be extended in that direction. In 2008, we reported and till now this has been unfulfilled. We talked about the debt waiver problem of the Indian farmers. Very happily we found that the Government accepted - not our recommendation but the whole movement for Rs. 60,000 crores debt waiver. But at the same time, we had pointed out that the debt waiving is not the solution, it is just a beginning. You have to provide additional credit, new credit, new sources of marketing, new sources of technology particularly to the small and marginal farmers who constitute 84 per cent of our agriculture families and that has to be done if we are going to follow it through. We also talked about it— and this is very important, Sir, I think we shall get a chance to talk about it later, so I shall not be talking about it any more, but we examined the process of employment in our country. We came to a very, very surprising conclusion that during this period of high rate of growth, employment growth had actually decelerated compared to the previous ten years, in these ten years the employment growth has decelerated, growth in wage has decelerated, growth of average earning of labour has decelerated. So, we pointed out that the only way to do something in this kind of a jobless growth scenario is to do everything possible to increase employment in the unorganised sector. We had given a large number of programmes, including skill formation, including the methods to increase the productivity. These are the things now have to be fulfilled in this kind of flagship programme. The last thing I want to mention with a bit of sorrow in my heart is that we formulated a social security programme. The social security programme is not just a question of providing, health, maternity, accident benefits and all these normal things that people can generate, but the most important thing is to provide a social floor of condition of living to the vast majority of our below poverty line unorganised workers.

It is a question of right. The society has to take the responsibility to look after the minimum requirements of livelihood of these people. The whole scheme was worked out. It should not be just a question of taking construction workers, bidi workers, etc. Every individual, who belongs to poor strata of society and vulnerable, should have a right to social security with a particular mechanism. It was a workable and doable thing. More importantly, Sir, this particular scheme that we proposed has full support of all parties. A unanimous recommendation of the Standing Committee was behind that. The Government accepted it, but not fully. Now, we cannot blame them because everybody has some claim on resources. But, from our point of view, who have actually talked about this particular scheme, if it were taken fully, it would have given a signal just as the NREG Scheme has given a signal and, I think, as a result of that, our party would have come out with absolute majority. I think, I am putting this for the last time. I am not going to talk about it again, because now we have a new Labour Minister. Our previous Labour Minister

Oscar Fernandes worked very hard for this. He must be complimented. Without him, we could not have gone even this far. We have got something much better than anywhere else. But, it remains for the next Government or this Government to see that it is followed through. And, if it is followed through, just consider, 340 millions of our unorganised workers, 77% of our population, will have the assurance that if they fall sick they will be looked after. If they reach the old age, they will have pension, they will have maternity benefit and will also have some unemployment benefit. If we could provide that, it would really change the face of the Indian poor. What did NCEUS show, Sir? They showed that it is feasible. The actual cost of the whole programme was 0.5 per cent of the GDP. Soon after that, this country has spent hundreds of thousands of crores to save the corporate sector. I am not saying that they should not have done that. But, it only meant that when there is a pressure, when the system feels that this must be done, money can be provided. The only thing I plead now is, let us realise that we must do, at least, the social security part which will change the nature of our country. Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Subbarami Reddy. You have seven minutes.

DR. T. SUBBARAMI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I take two minutes extra.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want bonus? You ask your Whip.

DR. T. SUBBARAMI REDDY: Sir, I am very thankful to you for giving me this opportunity. I support the Motion moved to thank the President's Address. Here, the most important thing I would like to say is this. In this 15th Lok Sabha Elections — elections for some State Legislatures were also held simultaneously — for the first time in the history, people who are, perhaps, not much educated have voted only to the Congress Party. When it comes to election of MLAs, I would say, local issues like caste, community and other things prevailed. This very fact shows that the people of India gave a mandate to Congress and it indicates that the performance of the UPA Government in the last five years was phenomenal. Due to paucity of time, I do not want to go into the details. But, one thing I must say here. Under the leadership of Smt. Sonia Gandhi and hon. Dr. Manmohan Singhji, our leader, Shri Rahul Gandhi, achieved a spectacular success in reaching to the grassroots in various States, particularly a State like Uttar Pradesh. Now, there is a challenge before the Government as to how will it work in the coming five years and how will it be able to fulfil the expectations of the people. Normally, Sir, the human psychology is, if you achieve good things, the people again expect double of what you had achieved. This is the reason why in the hon. President's Address, the Government explains its future plans. The most important and why I am really thrilled is this. I must say, today, in the administrative system redtapism is the biggest cancer or disease.

The administrative matters would not move unless you push things. The very fact of forming a procedure to achieve so many things within a target of 100 days itself shows how much the Government is committed to take up this challenge and see the nation prospering and progressing in the coming five years. The Government also feels that every day in the coming five years is important. We must work hard every day.

It is also important to mention here that other countries, like, the United States of America, the UK, France, Japan, etc. are suffering from financial crisis in this recession. India, as compared to other countries, is number one in facing this crisis and still feeling comfortable. For instance, during the last five years, the average growth rate was 8.5 per cent. Even during the worst times the growth rate of 7 per cent was achieved. These facts speak about the achievements of the UPA Government.

So far as agriculture is concerned, the NDA Government could hardly achieve one per cent growth rate, while we achieved 3.8 per cent. All these facts have been recognised by the people and they gave the mandate.

There is a proverb, "Ladies First". The reservation for women has been a dream for almost all the parties for several years. Now, the Government has taken up this challenge and they want to introduce the Women's Reservation Bill within 100 days. Of course, all parties are supporting and no attempt in going back will be successful. The Government has also said that by amending the Constitution, 50 per cent reservation for women would be provided in the Panchayati Raj and the local bodies. The third point is also very commendable, that is, in the Central Government also the Government will give priority to participation of women on the top posts. All these facts show that we are committed to women's welfare. This also shows that our democracy has given top priority to the women's welfare in the entire world. It is really very good because woman is *shakti*. They must be given top priority.

It is also a challenge for the Government to provide 25 kgs. of rice or wheat every month at the rate of Rs. 3 per kg. to the people belonging to Below Poverty Line. They are expecting to provide Rs. 50,000 crores for this purpose. Shri Sharad Pawar*ji* gave a statement, a few days back, that we are committed to it and we will definitely provide it if we are going to be successful.

The National Food Security Act is a phenomenal contribution for the poor people. We are very happy about that. Similarly, so far as the Right to Information is concerned, perhaps, no country in the world has come forward to give right to information. Now, the Government wants to strengthen it further and plug the loopholes. This is a very laudable idea. I congratulate the Government on this count.

Sir, we are equally committed to upgrade the ports, airports, national highways, roads, etc. The entire economy is very much interlinked with all these things. It is estimated that about rupees twenty-three lakh crores would be required for this purpose. For this, suddenly they say,

"कहां से लाएंगे?" It is quite possible. Where there is a will there is a way. The Government is determined to do it in so many ways. However, in this connection, I would like to suggest the Government that we must invite people from all over the world to participate and invest in building airports, roads, infrastructure, etc. We must fully seize this opportunity and see that this proposal is not dumped for financial reasons.

There is also a wonderful scheme that the Government wants to introduce the telecommunication system even in the remote rural areas. I congratulate the Government on this count also. I am extremely happy...**(Time-Bell)**. I would also like to mention here about the recapitalisation of the State-owned banks, physical consolidation in the medium term, more liberal reforms in the insurance sector, two new flagship programs are to be launched. We are expecting that by 2024, there will be four hundred million skilled people in India. It is a great scheme. I congratulate the Government. Also, so far as tax incentives are concerned, we are going to focus on gas exploration and production, and also on the incentives for the affordable housing schemes. Another most important thing is increased allocation from the Universal Service Obligation Fund for setting up the telecommunication system in the remote areas, which I have already mentioned. We are very happy that the Government has ensured that the growth process will not only be accelerated but will also be made socially and regionally more inclusive and equitable.

I am very happy that the immediate priority of the Government would be to focus on management of the economy that will counter the effects of the global slowdown. With the UPA Government getting the majority, the share market has gone up very much. People are very enthusiastic. They want to make investments in the country. Again, the industrial growth is going up. Frustration among youth is there because of unemployment. The problem of unemployment could be solved only with spectacular growth in industry. So, definitely, we are going to address this problem also.

Then, Sir, the President has spelled out pro-poor policies and steps to strengthen welfare schemes and boost economy. We are extremely happy.

Then, Sir, a serious situation has arisen out of unprecedented attacks on Indian students in foreign countries especially in Australia where a number of students have been injured and killed. Steps have already been taken by the Government of India to stop such activities against Indian students, especially in Australia. Once again, I emphasize here that it must be given top priority.

Then, Sir, a serious situation has arisen out of the US report stating that Pakistan has 60 nuclear bombs and is adding more Pakistan nukes aimed at India, thereby causing serious concern. Some steps have been taken by the Government to meet threat and challenges posed to India.

1.00 P.M.

My last point is about zero tolerance towards terrorism. There is already a big scheme for this. I am very happy. Bhagvad Gita says,

"लोकुत्रयाणा संगठनः निरूपमः नद्वितीयः।"

The country's prosperity and progress is going to be phenomenal on all sides in the coming years. Thank you.

सरदार तरलोचन सिंह (हरियाणा) : शुक्रिया डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब। पिछले दो दिनों से हम राष्ट्रपति जी के एड्रेस के ऊपर बहस सुन रहे हैं। आपने मुझे जो थोड़ा टाइम दिया है, मैं उसमें अपनी बात समाप्त करूँगा। यह जो सरकार ने राष्ट्रपति जी के बयान में लिखा है कि हम 100 दिनों में ये काम करेंगे, जब सरकार बन जाती है, तो उसे गवर्निंग की बात करनी चाहिए, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे इलेक्शन का ही नया मैनिफेस्टो जारी किया गया है। अब सरकार को पाँच साल मिले हैं और हम सब इस बात से खुश हैं कि एक stable government और एक अच्छा प्रधान मंत्री हमारे सामने है, लेकिन हमें सरकार की यह पॉलिसी समझ में नहीं आई कि 100 दिनों में ही सब कुछ कर देना है। तो आप बाकी पाँच साल क्या करेंगे!

सर, मैं एक मसले के ऊपर, अभी विमेन बिल के बारे में बात हो रही है, हमारे तमाम मैम्बर साहिबान, बेगम साहिबा बैठी हैं, मैं सभी लेडीज़ को बताना चाहता हूँ कि आप जो डिमांड दस सालों से कर रही थीं, पंजाब ने वह पूरी कर दी है। पंजाब से 13 मैम्बर ऑफ पार्लियामेंट इलेक्ट हुए हैं, उनमें 4 लेडीज़ हैं। यह हिन्दुस्तान में पहली बार हुआ है कि हमने out of 13, 4 लेडीज़ को भेजा है। यह है काम करने का तरीका। मुझे यह शर्म से कहना पड़ता है कि जो पार्टी सबसे ज्यादा जोर लगा रही थी, उन्होंने लेडीज़ को टिकट ही नहीं दी है। यह जो आप रोज consensus की बात कर रहे हैं, उसमें आप देखिए कि प्रैक्टिकल में क्या है। बेगम साहिबा, मैं आपके साथ उस कमेटी का मैम्बर था ...(व्यवधान)...

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : सर, ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : उनका इशारा आपकी तरफ नहीं है ...(व्यवधान)...

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : पूरे देश में महिलाओं को पहले से ज्यादा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री उपसभापति : उन्होंने किसी की तरफ इशारा नहीं किया है।

सरदार तरलोचन सिंह : मैं किसी पार्टी का नाम नहीं ले रहा हूँ, लेकिन जो पार्टियाँ जोर लगाती हैं, वे देखें कि प्रैक्टिकल में क्या हुआ है। मैं जो बात कहना चाहता हूँ, बहुत से मैम्बर बैठे हैं, हम उस कमेटी के मैम्बर हैं, जिसने विमेन बिल को डील किया है, आप एक बात समझिए कि जो consensus develop हो रहा था, हम उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दे रहे हैं। After all जब हम one third कहते हैं, आप उसकी बात समझिए कि इससे 181 men folk, आदमी निकल जाएंगे और उसकी जगह लेडीज़ आएंगी।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष **(प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन)** पीठासीन हुए]

Consensus यह डेवलप हो रहा था कि 181 सीटें add की जाएँ। आपको वीमेन को जो सीटें देनी हैं, वे सीटें बढ़ाइए। यह न करिए कि आदमियों की सीटें snatch करें और ये लेडीज़ को दें। आप एक तरफ अपनी राइट मांगती हैं। After all लेडीज़ हमारी माताएँ हैं, बहनें हैं, इंडिया में कौन है, जो आपके हक में नहीं है। लेकिन आप प्रेक्टिकल एपरोच समझिए। एक कमेटी के माध्यम से इसके लिए हम सब मुख्य मंत्री जी से मिले थे, दूसरे लीडर्स से भी मिले थे और सभी की यह राय थी कि इसके लिए डबल सीट्स क्रिएट की जाएं। जहां 181 सीटें बनती हैं, वे सीटें ऐड कीजिए और उसी से काम चलाइए। उसके बाद जो डिप्राइव्ड सेक्शन्स हैं, जिनको अब एक नया नाम दे दिया गया है, कोटा-दर-कोटा, उनका हक़ भी होना चाहिए, ताकि यह न हो कि गरीब गांव की लेडीज़ इससे पीछे रह जाएं। आप इस बात को सोचिए और जल्दबाजी में ऐसा कोई काम न

करिए। इसके लिए कन्सेंसस डेवलप हो। पंजाब की एक मिसाल आपके सामने है। अगर आप वही लागू करें तो इस बिल की जरूरत भी नहीं रहेगी। इस बात की अपील मैं सबसे करना चाहता हूं।

भाइयो, इसके बाद मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रेज़िडेंट एड्रेस में आपने पॉपुलर बातें तो कह दी हैं कि यह करेंगे, लेकिन जो सबसे जरूरी बातें हैं, उनका जिक्र भी नहीं है। सबसे जरूरी बात है, पॉपुलेशन कंट्रोल, लेकिन क्या उसका कहीं जिक्र है? देश की सबसे बड़ी बीमारी बढ़ती हुई पॉपुलेशन है। उसके बाद बच्चों की सेहत का नम्बर आता है, जिसमें हम दुनिया में सबसे नीचे हैं। वर्ल्ड के लार्जेस्ट एनेमिक चिल्ड्रन इंडिया में हैं, लेकिन इन बातों का प्रेज़िडेंट एड्रेस में कोई जिक्र ही नहीं है। इन बातों का भी ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिए, उसके बाद आप दूसरी बातों में जाइए। चूंकि समय कम है, सुबह मैंने एक-दो इश्यूज़ रेज़ किए थे, जिन्हें मैं फिर से रेज़ करना चाहता हूं।

भाइयो, अभी पिछले एक महीने से पाकिस्तान के कुछ हिस्सों में जो शरियत लॉ लागू हुआ है, उसका सबसे अधिक नुक़सान वहां पर जो गैर-मुस्लिम सिख लोग रहते हैं, उनको हुआ है। हमारे पर जज़िया लागू किया गया है। Jazia is a tax और वह टैक्स नॉन-मुस्लिम लोगों पर लगाया जाता है। इसमें एक करोड़ रुपया सिखों से वसूल किया गया है। दो जगहों पर सिखों ने जज़िया नहीं दिया, तो उन्हें वहां से निकाल दिया गया। मेरे पास उन दो गांवों के नाम भी हैं। पाकिस्तान में जो हो रहा है, उसके बारे में क्या भारत सरकार सो रही है? मुझे शर्म से कहना पड़ता है कि इंडियन गवर्नमेंट का कोई ऑफिसर या मिनिस्टर यह देखने अभी तक पाकिस्तान गया ही नहीं है कि सिखों के साथ क्या हो रहा है। वहां पर हजारों सिख रेफ्यूजी बन कर गुरुद्वारों में रह रहे हैं। क्या उनका कोई हक़ नहीं है?

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: Just a minute. Sir, he is making a very important point. But, unfortunately, Sir, neither the Parliamentary Affairs Minister nor is anybody here to take a note of it and inform the Prime Minister so that when he answers the. *...(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no; the Cabinet Minister is here. *...(Interruptions)...*

डॉ. (श्रीमती) नजमा ए. हेपतुल्ला: नोट कौन कर रहा है, सर?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): The Cabinet Minister is here. *...(Interruptions)...*

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: It is not a question of. *...(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No; no; you know everything is on record. *...(Interruptions)...* See, everything is on record. *...(Interruptions)...*

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: No; Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): It is going on record and the Cabinet Minister is here. *...(Interruptions)...*

सरदार तरलोचन सिंह: वह अभी-भी नहीं सुन रहे हैं, वह तो बातें कर रहे हैं।

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: Sir, the Parliamentary Affairs Minister should take a note of it. *...(Interruptions)...*

सरदार तरलोचन सिंह: वह अपनी बातों में मसरूफ हैं। वह अभी-भी नहीं सुन रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): See, the Cabinet Minister is here. ...*(Interruptions)*... Everything is going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: Sir, I am raising another point. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SARDAR TARLOCHAN SINGH: I think, since I am speaking in Hindi he is not understanding and he is more busy in. ...*(Interruptions)*...

डॉ. (श्रीमती) नजमा ए. हेपतुल्ला: सर, यह प्वाइंट नहीं है, इन्हें नोट करना चाहिए, लेकिन वह तो बात-चीत कर रहे हैं।

SARDAR TARLOCHAN SINGH: Defence Minister Sahib, the entire House is looking at you. Because I was speaking in Hindi, you are. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Tarlochan Singhji, please continue your speech. ...*(Interruptions)*...

सरदार तरलोचन सिंह: सर, मैंने एक बहुत बड़ा इश्यू रेज़ किया है कि हम सभी श्रीलंका के बारे में इकट्ठा हुए, लेकिन जो हाल पाकिस्तान में सिखों का हो रहा है, उसके लिए क्या हमारे देश को कुछ कदम उठाने की जरूरत नहीं है? क्या आप हमारे लिए कुछ करेंगे कि पाकिस्तान में हमारे साथ इस तरह का बर्ताव किया जा रहा है? For this, I propose that a delegation of Members of Parliament should go to Pakistan and see the condition. Till today, Indian Government has not spent a penny on those refugees. आज तक उनको जो भी पैसा दिया गया है, वह हम सिखों ने गुरुद्वारों में इकट्ठा करके खुद ही भेजा है। क्या उन सिखों के लिए गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया की कोई ड्यूटी नहीं है, जो अभी-भी वहां से निकाले जा रहे हैं। सैकड़ों सालों से वे सिख वहां पर रह रहे हैं। यही अफगानिस्तान में भी हमारे साथ हुआ और वहां पर अभी भी हमें रेफ्यूजी स्टेटस नहीं मिला है।

सर, इसके अलावा एक और बहुत जरूरी बात भी मैं कहना चाहता हूं। जब सारे देश में आप नई सरकार के आने की खुशियां मना रहे थे, तब हम ऑपरेशन ब्ल्यू स्टार की 25वीं एनीवर्सरी मना रहे थे। दुनिया के हर देश में सिखों ने डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन किया है। वर्ल्ड का कोई शहर ऐसा नहीं रहा, जहां पर सिखों ने डिमॉन्स्ट्रेशन नहीं किया हो। ऑपरेशन ब्ल्यू स्टार के तहत आज से 25 साल पहले भारत की आर्मी ने हमारे साथ क्या किया? आपने गोल्डन टैम्पल तोड़ा, अकाल तख्त तोड़ा और एक ही रात में वहां पर 5000 सिख मारे गए। लेकिन आज तक सरकार की तरफ से कुछ नहीं हुआ। What I propose, a Resolution should be moved in both the Houses of Parliament कि वह जो हुआ, उसको हम कंडेम करते हैं और सिखों से अपॉलोजी मांगते हैं। सिखों के लिए आपने जो भी किया, it will be a major factor कि एक रेज़ोल्यूशन पार्लियामेंट में लाया जाए और जो ब्ल्यू स्टार में हुआ है, उसको हर जगह कंडेम किया जाए। I will urge you to do that. Mr. Defence Minister, I would like to tell you what your earlier Government did. Those Army Officers who attacked and demolished the Golden Temple and *Akal Takht* were given Gallantry Awards. It is a regrettable act on the part of the Government that within the country, the Army moved against one religion, and did so at the highest religious place, and they were given gallantry awards. For what? For capturing Pakistan? For capturing China? You gave them gallantry awards because they killed Sikhs! I propose that those gallantry awards be withdrawn and the officers be told कि ये gallantry नहीं थे, इसलिए वे withdraw किए जाएं और इसके लिए आपको दोबारा, as Defence Minister,

we call upon you. We respect you; you have served as the Chief Minister of Kerala. We know you and respect you. Kindly reopen the file and withdraw those gallantry awards which were given at that time. Sir, apart from this, till today, no compensation has been paid. Women are still roaming out in the streets. What has the Government done for them? There is no job. All over India, about 10,000 Sikhs were killed in the 1984 riots. Nothing has been done. In addition, Sir, in the last Parliament, the Law Minister had promised here, in the House, that the Anand Marriage Act, which relates to the Sikh marriages, will be amended. Under that Act there is no clause for registration; majority of the Sikhs who go abroad don't get those certificates and then there is the problem of divorce. They need to do just one small thing: add the clause that every Sikh marriage will be registered. Now, that is a small right. Even that has not been given to us. We are very happy that we have a Sikh Prime Minister, but even Sikhs' issues need to be dealt with. It is not enough just to have a Sikh Prime Minister without any Sikh issue being taken up. I would urge upon you, Sir, that this Anand Marriage Act which is pending— the Parliamentary Committee has already approved it; The Law Minister promised in the House but it has not been fulfilled— may be looked into.

Thank you for the time.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to add my voice to the general sentiment in the House for expressing gratitude towards the hon. President of India for the speech and Address she delivered on the 4th June, 2009. Sitting in the Central Hall listening to the Address that day, I was particularly impressed by the humility, sobriety and modesty with which the President referred to the recent elections and the results thereof.

I wish those qualities and sentiments were reflected in the speeches from the Treasury Benches during the debate in this House these last two days. Unfortunately, it did not happen. The number of seats won in the Lok Sabha does not necessarily reflect the degree of popular support of the party or the level of endorsement of the enticements in the electoral manifesto or the past performance of their Government.

I would like to bring out the fact that the 'aam aadmi' manifesto of the Congress Party has surprisingly brought in the Lok Sabha an unprecedentedly large number of Ranis, Maharanis, descendents of dynasties, the affluent and the beautiful people.

The results of the last election are not difficult to understand. There were large number of political parties and party alliances and realignments that shifted from day to day. High temperatures of an unusually hot summer that prevailed during April-May dissuaded many voters, particularly the urban youth from going to the polling booths and waiting in long lines there. This made the balance of electoral preferences extremely precarious.

Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, the voter at large was greatly concerned about the mounting threat of terrorism as also the wave of retrenchments and bankruptcies resulting from the global

economic slow-down. The contending claims to Prime Ministership by a plethora of non-descript leaders put the voter in "Stockholm Psychosis". This means the people were so frightened that they desisted from entertaining any feeling of antipathy for the perpetrators of terrorism. They opted obviously for a safe option rather than go for any strong-willed adventures, military or economic. The System of "first-past-the –post" that we follow in election is proven to be statistically skewed. The Congress has won 29 per cent of the popular vote this time and 38 per cent seats, that is, 206 seats this time. Those suffering from a sense of euphoria and even arrogance would do well to remember that exactly 25 years back their party had won as many as 49 per cent votes and 412 seats, that is, exactly twice the number of seats they have won this time. However, the party managed to lose the very next elections within five years due to the position it had taken particularly in the Shah Bano case and the Bofors imbroglio.

With Dr. Manmohan Singh at the helm of the present Government, it is extremely unlikely that a "Bofors" will be repeated. A repetition of the Shah Bano like bungle, however, is very much on the cards. The Congressmen are getting drunk with the spirit of "Inclusiveness" that is only a euphemism for "Minorityism" and "Bhai-bhai'sm" which has spelt disaster for the country in 1947 in the form of partition and in 1962 in the form of Chinese invasion. Given the increasing impunity with which terrorist forces are advancing in our neighbourhood, it is very likely that the history will repeat itself after 25 years.

Several speakers have mentioned the fact that the new Government would be free from pressure from the Left parties and, consequently, free to implement its liberal agenda.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the field of agriculture, the most important erroneous decision that was taken by the previous Government under the pressure from the Left was in respect of restrictions on the commodity futures markets without any justification whatsoever. It further imposed the commodity transaction tax during the last Budget. This has stifled the commodity market and worsened the situation of farmers. I regret that the President did not make any mention of the path that the new Government will take in respect of restoring the freedom of the futures commodity market.

The President in her Address has emphasised various measures for evaluation of various programmes including NREG Scheme, Electronic Governance, etc.

Sir, the flagship programmes, undoubtedly need a close scrutiny. A review of the Debt Relief and Loan Waiver Scheme 2008 is even more urgently warranted.

Sir, one of the major planks in the last elections campaign was the Debt Relief and Loan Waivers Scheme of 2008. Many claims have been made about the benefits obtained by the farmers through this Scheme. The fact remains that suicides by farmers continue even after the implementation of the scheme.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would earnestly submit to the Government that it appoints a Task Force to go into the effective consequences of the scheme on the basis of an electronic software laying down the parameters of the intended benefits for the farmers as against the benefit actually received.

I would also like to submit very humbly, Sir, that with the Government's determination to promote communal harmony, it would be impossible to implement the Unique Identity Card Scheme for each citizen that the President mentions in paragraph 13.

The intention of creating targeted identification cards system to replace the present BPL list is equally idealistic.

The intention to make India slum-free in the next four years tantamount to, given the present tempo of exodus from villages to the metropolitan cities, day-dreaming. I wish the President had indicated some sort of a failure standard by which we could adjudge the performance of the Government not only at the end of the tenure but from year to year.

Sir, the President of India could not be unaware of the fact that a respected organisation based in Hong Kong named "Political and Economic Risk Consultancy" has found that the Indian bureaucracy is the most inefficient among 15 Asian countries in its study.

Further, Sir, the President could not be unaware of the fact that a competent Committee of the Planning Commission of India recently found that the incidence of leakages in the Public Distribution System was as high as 60 per cent on a national average and in some States as high as 90 per cent.

Sir, another working group of the same Commission came to the conclusion that, out of every Rs.65 spent from the Union Exchequer hardly one rupee reaches the targeted '*Aam Aadmi*'. Clearly, the 'inclusive', '*Aam Aadmi*' programmes are only a euphemism for garnering votes on promises of plundering the exchequer to the benefit of the *netas* and the *babus*.

Under these circumstances, the roadmap charged by the Government and the hon. President can be said to reflect little more than lofty dreams. I wish the new Government all the success in all their liberal and patriotic endeavours.

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I am here to support the Motion moved by my party thanking the hon. President for her Address to the Parliament. Sir, we have been voted back to power with enhanced numbers. I recollect the Presidential Speech made on 11th February, 2009. At that time, the then Leader of the Opposition, respected Shri Jaswant Singh, said that he found grammatical mistakes, mistakes in vocabulary and spelling mistakes in the Presidential Address made on 11th February, 2009. In fact, the present Leader of the Opposition, Shri Arun Jaitley, ridiculed it by saying that the draft is as bad as grammar, and he further added

that achievements catalogued in the Presidential Address is nothing but a 'dhobi's list of achievements'. Sir, the matured voters of this country have understood that the 'dobhi's list of achievements' of this Government is for them and is their list and, therefore, we have been voted back to power with enhanced majority. Sir, the people are watching the body language of the Members here, the functioning of political parties, both inside and outside. To quote one incident, I would like to mention the case of the Indo-US nuclear deal, which the hon. Prime Minister steadfastly signed with the US. We tried to convince our Left friends. Eight meetings were held. They parted company. No Confidence Motion was brought. Sir, I would like to recollect what happened in those days; how the voting pattern took place. No doubt, the Left voted 62 votes for the Motion against the Government, not against the deal because it was signed with the U.S. Sir, Janata Dal (Secular) voted for the Motion against the Government. Their leader, Mr. Kumaraswamy, said on the TV screen that they were voting against Government because of the compulsions of the State politics. Sir, Shiv Sena's official organ wrote an article supporting the deal, but Shiv Sena voted for the Motion against the Government because they wanted to oblige their *Sangh Parivar* family. Sir, the patriotic Sikh population diaspora in US lobbied heavily with others to see that U.S. signed this deal early. But, Akali Dal voted for the Motion against the Government because they were afraid that BJP, which was their partner in Punjab, would pull down the Government. Sir, the Telugu Desam Party, which has presence only in Andhra Pradesh, voted for the Motion because Shri Chandrababu Naidu was afraid that he would be forgotten in the entire Indian politics. That is why, he was siding with the NDA. Therefore, Sir, people watched the body language of the Members, the political hypocrisy adopted by political parties, both inside and outside the House. That is why, a lesson has been given. Today, I am happy that the Leader of the Opposition, in a conciliatory note, wanted to co-operate with the Government. He assured the Treasury Benches that the BJP would support all progressive measures in national interest. That has to be kept in mind, and I appeal to them that if we commit mistakes, please correct us. At the same time, please have a healthy debate and also support the Government programmes.

Sir, Mr. Maitreyan from my State was commenting about the voting machines. Last time, in Tamil Nadu, our alliance got 40 seats, all the 40 including Puducherry. This time, we got only 28. Twelve seats went to Mr. Maitreyan's party alliance. Borrowing his words, I would like to say that perhaps because of the defect in machine, they got 12 seats and they have won this time. I think, I agree on that count.

Sir, coming to Presidential Address, there are two-three things that I want to mention here. First, I would like to talk about Sri Lanka about which my colleague spoke. So, I dealt with that in eighteenth speech, what the Congress said about that what Rajivji and Indiraji did for Sri Lankan Tamils. Now, the war on terrorism is over. Now, the innocent Tamil population languishing in temporary sheds has to be sent to their original place. Schools have to be opened, hospitals

have to be established, and, I urge upon the Government of India to take immediate steps to ensure that the innocent civil population who are living in the darkness with fear for the last twenty five years see the light of the day and lead a happy life in Sri Lanka.

Sir, today morning, my learned friend, Mr. Raja raised this issue. In support of Sri Lankan Tamils, they forgot one aspect. The Indian-origin Tamils living in plantations are suffering. The Indian-origin Tamils had a political party Ceylon Congress led by Mr. Thondaman. Shastri *ji* had a pact with Sirimavo Bandaranaike to give citizenship rights to those Tamils. They are the Tamils who went from Tamil Nadu and settled down there in plantations during the British time. These Tamils must be taken care of, and, when a settlement is made, these Tamils should not be forgotten because they are also important part of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka.

Sir, regarding Australian students, many things have been expressed. My sympathy is with the Australian students. Government of India must take necessary steps but, at the same time, I would like to mention a word of caution. I appeal to the media not to blow the situation out of proportion. Sir, because the students are living in a foreign country, I would like to say that no act of ours should cause any harm to them.

Sir, through you, I appeal to the Minister of External Affairs to see that the Indian Embassy in Australia call the student leaders and advise them not to come to the streets and agitate because of the fear of retaliation. In the interest of students living there and other foreign countries, I want to make this appeal through you. No doubt, we have to use all diplomatic channels to protect all the students studying and living not only in Australia but other places also.

Sir, because of the paucity of time, I will take up only one or two issues. Sir, regarding Left Wing Extremism, I brought a Private Member's Resolution in this House and mentioned in detail as to how crores of rupees have been spent by the Central Government on modernization of police forces, hundred per cent reimbursement for purchasing vehicles and weapons, construction of police stations etc.

Sir, fifty crore rupees are being given for the Backward District Development. I would like to give some statistics. Sir, *The Indian Express* published an investigative news item about a District named Bastar in Bihar where a police station is not having electricity for three months and no telephone connection for two months because of disconnection on account of non-payment of bills. If that is the situation of the States which are to deal with the naxalite problem, I do not think any amount of promise made by the Central Government for spending crores of rupees will solve the problem. There should be a system of monitoring by the Central Government. Whenever these funds are allotted, its delivery should be proper and the Central Government also must monitor whether the funds allotted have been properly spent.

A number of official posts are vacant. Even in Jharkhand, constabulary posts are vacant, which have to be filled up. Sir, with regard to police reforms, the Supreme Court has appointed a Committee. Last week, I read an article mentioning that the Committee Chairman and others are drawing a heavy amount for every sitting. But, nothing has materialised and only eight sittings have taken place.

I urge upon the Government to see that the States must be compelled to see that the police reforms are implemented at an early date because it is an important thing. Sir, creation of voluntary youth force has been promised in the Presidential Address. No doubt, it is for cleaning up of the Ganga. I have also made a Special Mention demanding creation of a Civil Defence Force involving the youth of this country. **(Time-bell rings)** Sir, I will take only two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Only two minutes.

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN: And, if possible, I will add one more minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): No, no. You cannot add that.

SHRI B.S. GNANADESIKAN: Sir, you have always been kind to me. Sir, the Civil Defence Force has to be created in every ward, circle, village and urban area so that they can be trained to react immediately whenever there is a terror attack as has happened on 26/11.

Not only the youth will be brought back in the patriotic mode but they will also help to identify any foreigners roaming in a particular area, which will help the police force. In this respect, training the fishermen who are on the high seas is also important. The motorised fishing boats go up to ten nautical miles, and, catamaran go up to five nautical miles. So, if selected people are trained, they will be the biggest intelligence network for the police and the Army to look for any outsiders roaming on the high seas. So, that has to be brought in immediately.

Sir, regarding the NREGP, it is having a wonderful effect on the rural India. The President has promised to give a new look to rural India in the first speech in 2005. He has promised 100 days' employment under the NREGP. But, Sir, the States must be told that these 100 days must be in the non-farming season because for agriculture operation, no labour is available and if the scheme is implemented in the noncultivation season, they will get the work in the private farms as well as 100 days' work. In that way, they will be benefited.

Sir, I have got one more request to make. The Budget is going to be presented. At present an amount of Rs. 4 lakhs is given without security as education loan. Now, if a student wants to go to a foreign country, minimum of Rs. 10-12 lakhs are required. Therefore, I urge the Government to raise the limit of education loan from Rs. 4 lakhs to Rs. 12 lakhs without security so that the students can go to foreign countries. **(Time-bell rings)**.

Sir, I will conclude by saying that the people have watched the governance of this country, the leadership it provided, the schemes it launched and also the initiatives it took in the education sector, health sector and infrastructure sector. Therefore, they have voted us to power. Sir, in the next five years, if these schemes are implemented, we will come on our own. Thank you.

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार) : महोदय, आज मैंने अखबार पढ़ा, उसमें गाजियाबाद की एक न्यूज छपी है। उसमें एक आदमी ने चार बच्चों को मार दिया और अपनी बीवी की भी हत्या करनी चाही और खुद भी मरना चाहा। उस न्यूज को पढ़कर मैं बहुत दुखी हुआ। उस न्यूज के अंत में लिख गया है कि वह आदमी ट्रक चलाता था और पिछले तीन महीने से उसका ट्रक चलाने का काम बंद हो गया था। उसका रोजगार बंद हो गया था, इसके कारण वह पीड़ा में था। वह एकदम मूर्छित अवस्था में यह स्टेप ले लिया, जो कि बहुत inhuman step था। मैं इसके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज कराड़ों लोग बेकार हो रहे हैं और जो रिपोर्ट छपी है, जो इकोनोमिक रिपोर्ट छपी है, उसके तहत ऐसा लगता है कि 2009-10 में करोड़ों लोगों की नौकरी चली जाएगी। ये जो घटनाएं घट रही हैं, इससे करोड़ों लोगों की नौकरी चली जाएगी। किसानों की जो आत्म हत्या हुई, उसमें आपने कहा कि उनके कर्ज माफ करेंगे, लेकिन हमारे जो करोड़ों लोग बेरोजगार हो रहे हैं, उसमें कितने लोग तकलीफ में आएंगे और उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी। अब यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि जो करोड़ों लोग बेकार हैं, उनके लिए नौकरी नहीं होगी। हमारे एक मित्र ने यहां एक अच्छी बात कही कि आपने ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना बनाई है, लेकिन शहरी रोजगार योजना के बारे में क्या होगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शहरी रोजगार योजना के बारे में भी जरूर कुछ विचार करना चाहिए, क्योंकि अगर आप विद्यार्थियों को बैंक का लोन देंगे और उनको बाद में रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा तो उनके सामने एक समस्या खड़ी हो जाएगी कि कहां से हम पैसा दे पाएंगे, क्योंकि जो रिपोर्ट है, उसके अनुसार पढ़ने-लिखने के बाद उन्हें रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने 100 डेज़ का जो कार्यक्रम बनाया है, उस कार्यक्रम में रोजगार मुहैया कराने की बात भी जरूर लानी चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से एक दूसरी बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि 100 डेज़ कार्यक्रम में जो सबसे प्रमुख बात कही गई है, वह महिला आरक्षण के बारे में कही गई है। हमारे समाजवादी पार्टी के लोगों ने कभी इसका विरोध नहीं किया, हम महिला आरक्षण के पक्ष में हैं। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि महिला आरक्षण में सभ्रांत महिलाओं को ही जगह मिले और जो महिलाएं छूट गई हैं, जो रिमोट एरियाज़ में रहती हैं, उनके बारे में कोई विचार ही नहीं किया जाए। इसलिए यदि संविधान की धारा का संशोधन करना है, तो हम महिला आरक्षण ज़रूर करेंगे, लेकिन महिलाओं में भी, जो गरीब महिलाएं हैं, जो शोषित हैं, पीड़ित हैं, जो हरिजन हैं, आदिवासी हैं, जो पिछड़े वर्ग से हैं, उनके बारे में हमें ज़रूर कुछ करना पड़ेगा। अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे, तो वे महिलाएं, जो वंचित समाज से हैं, जो शोषित समाज से हैं, उनको कभी हम यहां पर नहीं ला पाएंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं कि महिलाओं के आरक्षण के लिए एक व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। अगर आप व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे और अगर आप किसी जादुई तरीके से या मेजॉरिटी के तरीके से इसको पास करने की कोशिश करेंगे, तो समाज में असंतुलन पैदा हो जाएगा और उसके बाद जो लड़ाई चलेगी, उसको आप रोक नहीं पाएंगे।

महोदय, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं और वह यह कि अभी हमारे शिवानन्द तिवारी भाई ने कहा कि बिहार को या किसी अन्य राज्य को आप पैकेज ज़रूर देंगे। तो जो प्लानिंग कमीशन है, उस प्लानिंग कमीशन का एक खाका तैयार होना चाहिए कि कौन सा राज्य बहुत गरीब है, उसके बारे में हमें क्या करना चाहिए?

हमारा पैकेज बहुत दिनों से पेंडिंग है, इसलिए हमें पैकेज मिलना चाहिए, क्योंकि वहां हम बहुत खराब हालत में हैं। अभी भी बहुत खराब हालत में हैं, लेकिन एक बात और मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि जब हमारी सरकार यहां थी और वहां बिहार में जब एन.डी.ए. की सरकार थी, तो सेंटर का जो फंड वहां गया, तो उसको बहुत ज्यादा अच्छे तरीके से उन लोगों ने यूज़ नहीं किया। हम उस पैकेज के खिलाफ नहीं हैं।

अंत में मैं एक बात कहना चाहूंगा और वह यह कि शहरीकरण के लिए शहर में जो हमारी व्यवस्था है, ट्रैफिक की व्यवस्था है, उसके बारे में भी हमें ज़रूर विचार करना चाहिए, जो कि इस पूरे अभिभाषण में नहीं हुआ। जब हम सड़क पर चलते हैं, तो देखते हैं कि बहुत गाड़ियां आ गई हैं और "नैनो" भी आ गई है। हर परिवार में, हर आदमी के लिए गाड़ी मुहैया कराई जाती है। आप शहर में जाइए, किसी भी शहर में - दिल्ली, चेन्नई, कोलकाता - इन सबकी बात तो छोड़िए, आम शहरों में, छोटे शहरों में भी इतना ट्रैफिक- जाम होता है कि एक-एक आदमी जब गाड़ी में चलता है, तो चार-चार, पांच-पांच घंटे उसको लग जाते हैं। इसलिए शहरीकरण के लिए भी आप ज़रूर कोई योजनाए बनाइए, ताकि हम लोगों को, आम लोगों को चलने में सुविधा हो सके और आम लोगों को ऐसा महसूस हो कि हम लोगों को.... क्योंकि आबादी बढ़ गई है और आबादी इतनी बढ़ी है कि गाड़ियां भी बढ़ गई हैं, लेकिन आपकी जो भौगोलिक क्रिया है यानी जो सड़क है, उस सड़क पर बहुत ज्यादा फ्लाईओवर नहीं हैं, बहुत ज्यादा उस पर जाने की व्यवस्था नहीं है, इसलिए मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूंगा कि इन सारी बातों को हम लोगों को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए। अंत में मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए समय दिया।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Shri Mohammad Shafi. How much time will you take? I do not want to interrupt you. It is your maiden speech.

SHRI MOHAMMAD SHAFI (Jammu and Kashmir): Yes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I do not want to interrupt you. Can you tell me how much time you are going to take?

SHRI MOHAMMAD SHAFI: Sir, at least, it should not be less than twenty minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): I will not interrupt, but try to reduce the time.

श्री मोहम्मद शफी : मोहतरम सदरे मजलिस, मैं पहली बार इस ऐवान में मोहतरमा सदरे साहिबा के खुतबे के लिए बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। गुज़िश्ता दो दिन में हमने हिज्बे इक्तिदार और हिज्बे इक्तिलाफ़ से गवर्नर के खुतबे के हवाले से खयालात सुने। और लोक सभा के इंतेखाबात् के बाद जो नताइज सामने आए, उन इंतेखाबात् के तजज़िये और उनसे क्या पैगाम मिला है, वे बातें भी हमारे सामने यहां पर रखी गयीं। मुल्क में इक मुस्तेहकम हुकूमत के लिए वोट दिया गया है, तरक्की और अमन के लिए वोट दिया गया है। ऐतदाल पसंदी और कसरत में वहदत के नज़रिए को पायदार बनाने के लिए वोट दिया गया। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। इसमें भी कोई शक नहीं है कि जारिहाना किस्म की कौमपरस्ती और फिरकापरस्ती को फैलाने वाली जो कुव्वतें थीं, इस इलेक्शन के हवाले से उनकी पसपाई साफ नज़र आती है। उन नताइज के हवाले से जो यहां पर कहा गया है, हिजबे इख्तिदार और हिजबे-इख्तिलाफ की तरफ से - एक बात बड़ी खुशआईन्द नज़र आयी है। हमने इस आवाम की कार्यवाही को टेलीविज़न पर देखा है, बारहा देखा है। अब की बार इक मुज़ाहमत की फिज़ा थी। बादल-ए-नाख्वास्ता ही सही, हिज़बे-इख्तिलाफ में नताइज को कबूल ही नहीं किया, बल्कि ऐसे इशारे भी नज़र आए कि वे अपना एक एहतसाब करेंगे और एहतसाब करके एक नयी राह, एक नयी फिज़ा इस मुल्क में हिज़बे-इख्तिदार के साथ मिलकर, यूपीए की सरकार को तआवुन देकर, जैसा कि उन्होंने यहां पर वादा किया है, मुल्क को मज़बूत बनाने की कोशिश में जुट जाएंगे। मेरे अपने ख्याल में एक और पैगाम भी इस इंतेखाब से मुल्क को मिला है और उसकी निशानदेही इशारतन किनायतन तो कुछ जमातों के मैंबरान

ने यहां पर की। लेकिन उस पैगाम को खुले तौर पर यहां पर बयान नहीं किया गया। वह यह पैगाम था कि इस्तेहकाम के साथ-साथ यहां की जो कई इलाकाई जमातें हैं, उन्होंने अपने वजूद को और अपने नज़रियात को खुलकर आवाम के सामने पेश किया है। चाहे बंगाल की तृणमूल कांग्रेस हो, चाहे तमिलनाडु की डीएमके हो, चाहे जम्मू-कश्मीर की नेश्नल कांफ्रेंस हो, चाहे महाराष्ट्र की एनसीपी हो, चाहे बिहार की जनता दल यूनाइटेड हो, चाहे उड़ीसा की बीजू जनता दल हो या नॉर्थ ईस्ट की छोटी-बड़ी इलाकाई जमातें हो। एक मैसेज है कौम के लिए, एक मैसेज है आवाम के लिए कि आप इस मुल्क को मज़बूत बनाने के लिए, इस मुल्क को मुस्तेहकम बनाने के लिए, इसको एक genuine किस्म का, मुतवाज़न किस्म का federal structure देने की जरूरत है। मरकज़ के दरम्यान, मरकज़ी सरकार के दरम्यान और रियासतों के दरम्यान यारत इख्तियारात रात को नए सिरे से तकसीम करने की जरूरत है। शायद अगर इख्त्रात को नए सिरे से तकसीम करने की जरूरत पैदा हुई है या इख्तियार तकसीम किए जाएं, यहां पर अभी उड़ीसा के एक मेंबर ने या बिहार के एक मेंबर ने यह वार्निंग देने की कोशिश की कि अगर आप इंसाफ नहीं करेंगे तो बगावत होगी। बगावत तक मामलात को मत पहुंचाइए, उससे पहले ही इंसाफ कायम करने के लिए, मआशी इंसाफ कायम करने के लिए सियासी तौर पर इस निज़ाम पर एतबारियत को कायम करने के लिए रियासतों को मज़ीद इख्तयार दे दीजिए। फेड्रेलिज्म से कभी मुल्क कमजोर नहीं हुआ करते। इख्तियारात को सिर्फ मरकज़ में यकजा करने से मुल्क कमजोर नहीं हो सकता। इकदार को गैर मरकूज़ करने से, रियासतों को मजबूत बनाने से मुल्क ज्यादा मजबूत होगा। मरकज़ भी मजबूत होगा और रियासतें भी जब मजबूत होंगी तो मरकज़ और ज्यादा मजबूत होगा, क्योंकि सारे लोग बगावत के बजाए सारे निज़ाम में एतबार भी करेंगे और अपने आपको मुल्क की तरक्की और मुल्क के इस्तेहकाम के बराबर की शरीक होगी। इसी तनाजुर में मैं रियासत जम्मू कश्मीर के हवाले से चूंकि यहां पर एक बड़ी हिज्बे इख्तिलाफ़ की जमात के एक मेंबर ने जो यहां पर तशरीफ फरमा नहीं, उसने यहां जम्मू कश्मीर, नेशनल कांफ्रेंस के प्रोग्राम एटोनोमी के हवाले से यह बात कहने की कोशिश की या यह जानने की कोशिश की कि कैसे कांग्रेस ऐसी जमात के साथ इक्तिदार में शरीक है जम्मू कश्मीर की रियासत में। जो एटोनोमी की बात करते हैं, जो 1953 की खुदमुख्तारी को बहाल करने की बात करते हैं, यहां भी आपने उनको शरीक बनाया। उन्होंने तो यहां पर यह बात तक कह दी कि आपने जो रिजोल्यूशन पास किए हैं असेंबली में एटोनोमी की बहाली के लिए, आप ही बताइए उस एटोनोमी के रिजोल्यूशन के बारे में आपकी क्या राय है। जम्हूरी निज़ाम में यकीन रखने वाले लोगों को जम्हूरी निज़ाम और जम्हूरी कदरों की पासदारी की कसम खाने वाली जमातों को मेरा यह सवाल है। चाहे वह इस तरफ से बैठने वाले लोग हों या उस तरफ से बैठने वाले लोग हों, अगर तीन चौथाई अकसरयत से एक रियासती असेंबली में रिजोल्यूशन पास किया है, अनहेरीटेज के लिए नहीं रिजोल्यूशन पास किया है, आईन में जो जमानतें दी गई थी, आईन बनाने वालों ने आईन बनाते वक्त, रियासत जम्मू कश्मीर को एक खास दर्जा दिया गया था दफा 370 के तहत। अगर तीन चौथाई अकसरयत से एक चुनी हुई असेंबली ने एक क़रादाद पेश की है कि उस पोजिशन को वापिस अपनी जगह पर लिया जाए, क्योंकि फिरकापरस्ती कुव्वतों के दबाव में आकर या कुछ और मसलिहतों के ताबे गुजिस्तां 60 वर्ष में उस खुदमुख्तारी को निहायत कमजोर बना दिया गया। कोई आसमान नहीं गिरने वाला, चांद नहीं मांग रहे हैं जम्मू कश्मीर के अवाम, वे कहते हैं आईन को बनाने वालों, जो कमिटमेंट आईन में दर्ज कराई थी रियासत जम्मू कश्मीर को खुदमुख्तारी की, उसकी पासदारी की, उसकी खुदमुख्तारी को बहाल कीजिए। और इस पर सवाल यहां उठाए जाते हैं, आप बताइए कि उस रिजोल्यूशन को आप मानते हैं या नहीं मानते हैं ? मैं यहां पर याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि जब नब्बे की दहाई में, एक मुसल्लाह मजाहमत के रूप में एक तहरीक वहां शुरू हुई, रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर में। इसी ऐवान में मुल्क के वजीर-ए-आजम नरसिंहराव जी ने यह नहीं कहा, रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर की अवाम को कि अलाहदगी की बात मत कीजिए। जहां तक आइन के अंदर आपको खुदमुख्तारी का मामला है, उसके लिए आसमान तक जा सकते हैं, "sky is the limit". ये

उनके अलफ़ाज थे, जो इस ऐवान में उन्होंने कहे। क्या यह बात अपनी जगह पर दुरुस्त नहीं है कि उस हुकूमत के बदलने के बाद जो नये वजीर-ए-आजम देवगौड़ा जी यहां पर आए, उन्होंने जम्मू-कश्मीर में इलेक्शन से पहले यह गारंटी दे दी, उस वक्त के कॉमन मिनिमम प्रोग्राम में रखा कि रियासत जम्मू-कश्मीर को ग्रेटर ऑटानोमी रेस्टोर की जाए। उनका बयान भी लोक सभा में मौजूद है। आज हमसे जम्मू-कश्मीर के लोग पूछते हैं कि मुल्क के वजीर-ए-आजम किसकी तरफ से बयान देते हैं ? यह बहेसियाते फ़रदन उनका बयान था कि बाद में जमात भूल जाएगी। यह तो कौम की तरफ से बयान था, उस वक्त तो सबने वाह-वाह की थी। इससे भी किसी को इन्कार है कि जब श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी 2003 में जम्मू-कश्मीर में गए, तो उन्होंने जम्मू-कश्मीर के लोगों को महजूर का एक शेर पढ़कर सुनाया,

वलोहा बागवानो नोबहार चांद पैदा कर,
फलन गुलगत का रंग बुलबुल तुझासा मान पैदा कर।

ऐ, मेरे भाइयो, वाजपेयी का अपना अंदाज है। महजूर का शेर पढ़ा,

चलो हम मिलकर इस गुलिस्तां को
एक नई शान दे दें, नई आन दे दें
और ऐसे फूल यहां पर खिलाएं,
जो आज तक इस बाग में नहीं खिले।

उसी शायर के आखिरी शेर में यह बात लिखी थी,

करि बुलबुले आज़ाद पंज उसमन नालां थी,
पन्ने दस्त पन्ने मुश्किलन आसान पैदा कर।

भई, नया गुलिस्तां तो बनाओगे, लेकिन नया गुलिस्तां कब बनेगा ? जब इसके अवाम को आप जंजीरों से, थोड़ी-सी आप जंजीरें काट दो, इसको पिंजरे में बंद नहीं रखो। तब इसकी मुश्किलें आसान होंगी, तब नया गुलिस्तां आप पैदा करेंगे, तब नये फूल खिलेंगे। क्या यह जो कमिटमेंट दी गई थी, मैं तो नहीं समझता कि यह कोई फरेब था। क्या वाजपेयी जी ने ये बातें नहीं कही थीं कि मैं इन्सानियत की बुनियाद पर कश्मीर के मसले को हल करना चाहता हूं, बार-बार दोहराया, 2002 में भी दोहराया जब वहां पर गए। उनसे पूछा गया कि आप किस बुनियाद पर यहां पर बातचीत के जरिए इस मसले का हल चाहते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि "on the basis of humanity", इंसानियत की बुनियाद पर। वह इंसानियत का बड़ा वसीउज्जहूर हैं। इंसानियत का तवस्सुर तो सारी दुनिया में नहीं, बेनुलअकवामी सतह पर, कबूले आम का तसव्वुर है कि इंसानियत की बुनियाद को कैसे आप उन लोगों की हकूक की, जम्हूरी उमंगों की, पासदारी करते हुए, उनको शरीकेकार बनाओ। उनकी सरदारियत को कबूल करो, मुल्क के आइन के दायरे के अंदर। मुझे अफसोस हो रहा है जब कि एक मुक्तदर मेम्बर, मैं जानता हूं कि उनके साथ हमारे ताल्लुकात भी रहे हैं, वे हमारे अखबार के एडिटर भी रहे हैं। जब यह सवाल कर रहे थे, शायद डरा रहे थे यूपीए, मुझे उम्मीद है, वह डरेंगे नहीं। हां, वह हमारे साथ जम्मू-कश्मीर की हुकूमत में शरीक हैं और हम भी उनके साथ शरीक हैं। बराबरी की बुनियाद पर इस मुल्क के इस्तेकाम के लिए हम शरीक हैं। हमारे साथ इन्साफ होना चाहिए। एक रिजोल्युशन पास हुआ, उसकी बुनियाद पर बातचीत करने के बाद, इस मसले का हल ढूंढ़ा जाना चाहिए, जो दाखिली पहलू है। इस मसले का एक खारजी पहलू भी है जम्मू-कश्मीर के मसले का।

यह बहुत महान देश है। अमेरिका ने पाकिस्तान के साथ कहीं कोई बात कर दी और हम फौरी तौर पर यहां घबरा जाएं और परेशानी का इज़हार कर दें, तो यह ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि यह काफी बड़ा देश है। हम यह फख्र के साथ कहते हैं कि केवल 2020 ही नहीं, बल्कि पूरी सदी ही हिन्दुस्तान की सदी है और हम एशिया की

एक बहुत बड़ी ताकत के रूप में उभर रहे हैं। यहां पर जो हमारे दोस्त अरुण शोरी जी हैं, जब ये टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया और इंडियन एक्सप्रेस अखबार के एडिटर थे, तब इनके साथ हमारे बड़े गहरे राब्ते रहे हैं। उन्होंने यहां पर इस तरह से यह मामला पेश किया कि अगर आपने बात की, तो आप पाकिस्तान के साथ हैं। जो उसमें कम्पोजिट डायलॉग है, उसमें मसले कश्मीर भी है। फिर क्या होगा? बस आप खतरे में पड़ जाएंगे। शायद 60 की दहाई में यह बात मायने रखती हो, लेकिन हम 70 की दहाई में भी यह मार्जन दे देंगे, यह बात कही जा सकती है। लेकिन आज 21वीं सदी की पहली दहाई में कोई यह बात कहे, कौम परस्ती के नाम पर यह कहे, यह हमारी समझ से परे है। हमारी समझ में यह बात नहीं आती है कि जब कश्मीर के हवाले से यह बात आती है, तो आप क्यों यहां पर इस तरह की बातें करते हैं। आप एक खौफ़ और ह्रास की फिज़ा पैदा कर रहे हैं। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं, वाजपेयी जी ने भी कहा था और जो अब हमारे प्रधान मंत्री डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी हैं, इन्होंने भी कई बार कहा है कि दौर बदले जा सकते हैं, हम शायद नहीं बदल सकते। हमें शायद उनके साथ बात-चीत करनी पड़ेगी। हमारी फौजें दो साल तक, तीन साल तक सारी सरहदों पर रहीं। मुझे आज भी आडवाणी जी के वे बयानात याद हैं कि हमें 20 आदमी दोगे, तो हम बात-चीत करेंगे, तब हम अपनी फौजें वापस लाएंगे। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि वे हमें 20 में से 20 मुर्गे भी वापस नहीं देंगे। आप आदमियों की बात तो छोड़ दीजिए, अगर उन 20 आदमियों के बदले यहां मुर्गे ही वापस ले आए होते, तब भी बात बनती। दो साल के बाद इस्लामाबाद जाकर ऐलाने इस्लामाबाद करके, बातचीत का नया सिलसिला दोबारा फिर शुरू किया। हमारी फौजों को भी किसी हद तक सरहदों से वापस बुलाना पड़ा। हम किस इंतजार में हैं! यह बड़ा देश है, महान देश है। आप श्रीलंका के साथ भी बात कीजिए, नेपाल के साथ भी बात कीजिए और पाकिस्तान के साथ बातचीत करने में कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं होनी चाहिए। मैं इसलिए भी यह बात कहता हूं कि जम्मू-कश्मीर नेशनल कांफ्रेस के जो मौकफ हैं, वे यहां पर भी यूपीए के मौकफ हैं। एक बाहरी ताल्लुकात को इस्तवार करने के लिए और दहशतगर्दी के खिलाफ जो यह लड़ाई है, हमें मुश्तर्का तौर पर यह लड़ाई लड़नी होगी। अगर अमेरिका पाकिस्तान को एक सैंट्रल लाइन स्टेट समझता है, तो हमको भी समझना चाहिए। अगर पाकिस्तान दहशतगर्दी के खिलाफ लड़ाई में कामयाब होता है, तो यह भी एक तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की कामयाबी है। अगर वहां दहशतगर्दी की लड़ाई, किसी तरह से कमजोर पड़ जाती है, तो उसके असरात हम पर भी मुरत्तिब होंगे, हम पर भी उसके असरात पड़ेंगे। अगर उसमें मदद के लिए ढ़ाई लाख की जरूरत पड़ती है, हर एक ने कंडेम किया, पाकिस्तान ने भी कंडेम किया और सारी दुनिया ने कंडेम किया, जो मुम्बई के हवालात से जो वाकयात हुए। साथ ही साथ ताल्लुकात की इस्तवारी के लिए और मसले कश्मीर को हल करने के लिए, बहाली तौर पर भी और जो इसके खारजी पहलू हैं, उन पर भी हमें नजर रखनी चाहिए। हमें पाकिस्तान के साथ डायलॉग करने में हिचकिचाना नहीं चाहिए, पर मैं जानता हूं कि आप यह चाहते हैं कि मैं जल्दी खत्म करूं। मैं केवल दो-तीन और नुक्ते बयान करूंगा। मुझे इसमें थोड़ी सी इसलिए वजाहत से बात करनी पड़ी, क्योंकि मैं दो दिन से जो यहां पर बातचीत सुन रहा हूं, इसके बराहेरास्त असरात हमारी रियासत में कलमबंद हैं। हम और आप सभी यहां सुनते आए हैं कि ये इलैक्शन जम्हूरी उमूमी की तर्जुमानी होती है, तो हमारे आवाम की भी कुछ जम्हूरी उमूमी है। उनकी तर्जुमानी भी मुझे करने दीजिए।

मुझे एक-दो और गुज़ारिश करनी है। यहाँ पर नेशनल सिक्योरिटी के हवाले से बात हुई। बहुत अच्छी बात है। हरेक चाहेगा कि मुल्क सलामत रहे, सिक्योर रहे, इसके बॉर्डर्स महफूज़ रहें। कोई इस आँख से इस मुल्क की तरफ न देखे, हरेक की यह ख्वाहिश है। सरहदें महफूज़ रहेंगी, तो मुल्क महफूज़ रहेगा, तो फिर हम बाहिमी मुकालमे के जरिए अपने मसायल भी तय कर सकते हैं। अन्दरूनी तौर पर इस्तेहकाम होगा, यह बहुत जरूरी है, तो फिरकावाराना फसादात नहीं होंगे और यहाँ पर एक अच्छा हमाहंगी का माहौल और बिरादरी का माहौल मुल्क में कायम रहेगा, तो मुल्क में इस्तेहकाम होगा। लेकिन मुझे यह कहने की इजाजत दीजिए कि माज़ी में भी बड़े सख्तगीर कवानीन बने हैं, सिर्फ कवानीन बनाने से तो मसायल हल नहीं होते। अन्दरूनी

2.00 P.M.

तौर पर आप देखिए कि नक्सलाइट क्यों तशद्दुद कर रहा है। ये नॉर्थ-ईस्ट में जो तशद्दुद की तहरीकें हैं, जो violent movements हैं, इनके पीछे क्या जज्बात कारेफरमा हैं। इनकी तरफ भी तवज्जुह दे दीजिए। आप इन मामलात में multi-dimensional approach रख लीजिए। मामलात को दुरुस्त करने के लिए आपकी एक कसीरूल जहती approach होनी चाहिए। कानून को सख्त बनाइए और अगर कोई कानून तोड़ने वाला या दहशतगर्दी करने वाला पकड़ा जाए, तो उसको तहलील कीजिए। लेकिन दहशतगर्दी के नाम पर आप, पहले भी शिकायतें रही हैं, किसी तबकात को शिकार मत बनाइए। आप उसमें भी डायलॉग के अमल को लाएँ।

यहाँ पर एक और बात बहुत जरूरी है। किसी ने इसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया। हालाँकि गुजिश्ता पाँच वर्षों में हम बहुत कुछ इस मामले में इस हाउस में भी और उस हाउस में भी मुबाहिसें सुनते रहे, वह है electoral reform के बारे में। किसी ने इलेक्शन कमीशन को मोरिदे इल्जाम ठहराने की कोशिश की, लेकिन इससे भी ज्यादा खतरनाक बात इस वक्त इस मुल्क में हो रही है, वह है वोट हासिल करने के लिए रुपए-पैसे का इस्तेमाल। आज 500 रुपए से लेकर 5000 रुपए तक वोट खरीदे जाते हैं। आप अंदाजा लगाइए कि 500 और 5000 रुपए देकर वोट खरीदे जाने से क्या जम्हूरी कद्रों की पासदारी होगी, क्या जम्हूरी कद्रों को उससे फरोग़ मिलेगा, क्या जम्हूरी कद्रें उससे मुस्तहकिम होंगी? हरग़िज नहीं हो सकतीं। मेरी यह गुज़ारिश होगी, यहाँ ऑनरेबल मिनिस्टर बैठे हुए हैं, वक्त आ गया है कि आपको मनी पॉवर को इलेक्शन के इस प्रोसेस में कम करने के लिए इकदामात करने पड़ेंगे। वरना यह खतरा है कि अगले 10-20 साल में इस सारे electoral process से लोगों का एतमाद उठ जाएगा। फिर कोई गरीब आदमी, जो कितनी अहलियत भी रखता होगा, लेकिन वोट खरीदने की पोज़ीशन में नहीं होगा, तो वह इलेक्शन के इस प्रोसेस में हिस्सा ही नहीं ले सकेगा। फिर आप किसकी शिरकत करेंगे और किसको यकीनी बनाएंगे, इसकी तरफ भी तवज्जुह देने की जरूरत है।

मैं दो-तीन मिनट में रियासत के हवाले से दो-तीन बातें कहना चाहूँगा। मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे थोड़ा सा टाइम दे दिया, लेकिन क्या करें। कहते हैं कि नक्श हैं सब नातमाम, ख़ूने जिगर के बगैर, नग्म है सब जायकाम, ख़ूने जिगर के बगैर। मुझे रियासत के हवाले से दो-तीन बातें कहनी हैं। तकरीबन साल पहले से किस्सा हो रहा है। छः महीने हो गए, अभी तक हमारी इस रियासत का प्लान finalise नहीं हुआ। वहाँ वर्किंग चीज़ें बहुत कम हैं। कब आपका बजट पास होगा, कब आप हमारे बजट को finalise कर देंगे और कब हम काम शुरू करेंगे? नतीजा यह होगा कि हमें वहाँ पर बहुत कम असरात नज़र आएंगे। बेइत्मनानी मौजूद है। इलेक्शन तो हो गए हैं, हम लोगों ने भरपूर तरीके से वोट भी दिया है, लेकिन लोग तो जमीन पर काम चाहेंगे। इसलिए हुकूमत से मेरी यह गुज़ारिश होगी कि वह हमारे प्लान को जल्द फाइनलाइज़ करे।

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं, बस दो मिनट में अपनी बात को खत्म कर दूंगा। बाकी रियासतों का भी यह मसला है और हमारा भी यही मसला है, वह है अनइम्प्लॉयमेंट। लेकिन एक छोटी सी रियासत है, जहां पांच लाख से ज्यादा पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान, ग्रेजुएट, पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट, इंजीनियर्स, डॉक्टर्स, बीएएमएस, स्किल्ड वर्कर्स बेकार हैं। मैं मरक़ज़ी हुकूमत से चाहूंगा, आपने अनइम्प्लॉयमेंट का जिक्र तो किया है, लेकिन पांच लाख बेरोज़गार लोगों के रोज़गार के लिए आपकी तरफ से कोई स्पैशल पैकेज भी दिया जाए। अगर फौरी तौर पर आप इसकी तरफ कोई तवज्जुह नहीं देते, मैं यह नहीं कहूंगा क्योंकि वहां पर अभी भी पूरी तरह से हालात नॉर्मल नहीं हुए हैं, हम सब लोग सर हथेली पर रख कर सियासी अमल और जम्हूरी अमल को जारी रखें। इन पांच लाख नौजवानों को रोज़गार फ़रहाम करने के लिए कोई स्पैशल पैकेज देना पड़ेगा और यह जितना जल्द हो सके, उतना ही इसके लिए बेहतर होगा।

मानदी शमशीर है दस्तेक़ज़ा में हुकूम।।
रखती है जो हर ज़मा अपने अमल का हिसाब।।

शुक्रिया।

جناب محمد شفیع (جموں اور کشمیر) : محترم صدر مجلس، میں پہلی بار اس ایوان میں محترمہ صدر صاحبہ کے خطبے کے لئے بولنے کے لئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں۔ گزشتہ دو دن میں ہم نے حزب اقتدار اور حزب اختلاف سے صدر کے خطبے کے حوالے سے خیالات سنے۔ اور لوک سبھا کے انتخابات کے بعد جو نتائج سامنے آئے، ان انتخابات کے تجزیے اور ان سے کیا پیغام ملا ہے، وہ باتیں بھی ہمارے سامنے یہاں پر رکھی گئیں۔ ملک میں اس مستحکم حکومت کے لئے ووٹ دیا گیا ہے، ترقی اور امن کے لئے ووٹ دیا گیا ہے۔ اعتدال پسندی اور کثرت میں وحدت کے نظریے کو پائیدار بنانے کے لئے ووٹ دیا گیا۔ اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے۔ اس میں بھی کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ زہرانہ قسم کی قوم پرستی اور فرقہ پرستی کو پھیلانے والی جو قوتیں تھیں، اس الیکشن کے حوالے سے ان کی پسپائی صاف نظر آتی ہے۔ ان نتائج کے حوالے سے جو یہاں پر کہا گیا ہے، حزب اقتدار اور حزب اختلاف کی طرف سے، ایک بات بڑی خوش آئند نظر آئی ہے۔ ہم نے اس عوام کی کاروائی کو ٹیلی ویژن پر دیکھا ہے، بارہا دیکھا ہے۔ اب کی بار اک مزاحمت کی فضا تھی۔ بادل نخواستہ ہی صحیح، حزب اختلاف میں نتائج کی قبول ہی نہیں کیا، بلکہ ایسے اشارے بھی نظر آئے کہ وہ اپنا احتساب کریں گے اور احتساب کرکے ایک نئی راہ، ایک نئی فضا اس ملک میں حزب اقتدار کے ساتھ مل کر، یو.پی.اے. کی سرکار کو تعاون دیکر، جیسے کہ انہوں نے یہاں پر وعدہ کیا ہے، ملک کو مضبوط بنانے کی کوشش میں جٹ جائیں گے۔ میرے اپنے خیال میں اور اور پیغام بھی اس انتخاب سے ملک کو ملا ہے اور اس کی نشاندہی اشارۃ کنایۃ تو کچھ جماعتوں کے ممبران نے یہاں پر کی۔ لیکن اس پیغام کو کھلے طور پر یہاں پر بیان نہیں کیا گیا۔ وہ یہ پیغام تھا کہ استحکام کے ساتھ ساتھ یہاں کی جو کئی علاقائی جماعتیں ہیں، انہوں نے اپنے وجود کو اور اپنے نظریات کو کھل کر عوام کے سامنے پیش کیا ہے۔ چاہے بنگال کی ترنمول کانگریس ہو، چاہے تمل ناڈو کی

[Transliteration in Urdu Script]

ڈی۔ایم۔کے۔، چاہے جموں کشمیر کی نیشنل کانفرنس ہو، چاہے مہاراشٹر کی این۔سی۔پی۔ ہو، چاہے بہار کی جنتا دل (یونائیٹڈ) ہو، چاہے اڑیسہ کی بیجو جنتا دل ہو یا نارتھ ایسٹ کی چھوٹی بڑی علاقائی جماعتیں ہوں۔ ایک میسیج ہے قوم کے لئے، ایک میسیج ہے عوام کے لئے کہ آپ اس ملک کو مضبوط بنانے کے لئے، اس ملک کو مستحکم بنانے کے لئے، اس کو ایک genuine قسم کا، متوازن قسم کا federal structure دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔ مرکز کے درمیان، مرکزی سرکار کے درمیان اور ریاستوں کے درمیان اختیارات کو نئے سرے سے تقسیم کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ شاید اگر اختیارات کو نئے سرے سے تقسیم کرنے کی ضرورت پیدا ہوتی ہے یا اختیار تقسیم کئے جائیں، یہاں پر ابھی اڑیسہ کے ایک ممبر نے یا بہار کے ایک ممبر نے یہ وارننگ دینے کی کوشش کی کہ اگر آپ انصاف نہیں کریں گے تو بغاوت ہوگی۔ بغاوت تک معاملات کو مت پہنچائیے، اس سے پہلے ہی انصاف قائم کرنے کے لئے، معاشی انصاف قائم کرنے کے لئے سیاسی طور پر اس نظام پر اعتباریت کو قائم کرنے کے لئے ریاستوں کو مزید اختیار دے دیجئے۔ فیڈرلزم سے کبھی ملک کمزور نہیں ہوا کرتے۔ اختیارات کو صرف مرکز میں یکجا کرنے سے ملک کمزور نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اقدار کو غیر مرکوز کرنے سے، ریاستوں کو مضبوط بنانے سے ملک زیادہ مضبوط ہوگا۔ مرکز بھی مضبوط ہوگا اور ریاستیں بھی جب مضبوط ہوں گی تو مرکز اور زیادہ مضبوط ہوگا، کیوں کہ سارے لوگ بغاوت کے بجائے سارے نظام میں اعتبار بھی کریں گے اور اپنے آپ کو ملک کی ترقی اور ملک کے استحکام میں برابر کے شریک ہوں گے۔ اسی تناظر میں میں ریاست جموں کشمیر کے حوالے سے چونکہ یہاں پر ایک بڑی حزب اختلاف کی جماعت کے ایک ممبر نے جو یہاں پر تشریف فرما نہیں، اس نے یہاں جموں کشمیر، نیشنل کانفرنس کے پروگرام ایٹانومی کے حوالے سے یہ بات کہنے کی کوشش کی یا یہ جاننے کی کوشش کی کہ جیسے کانگریس ایسی جماعت

کے ساتھ اقتدار میں شریک ہے جموں کشمیر ریاست میں۔ جو اٹانومی کی بات کرتے ہیں، جو 1953 کی خودمختاری کو بحال کرنے کی بات کرتے ہیں، یہاں بھی آپ نے ان کو شریک بنایا۔ انہوں نے تو یہاں پر یہ بات تک کہہ دی کہ آپ نے جو ریزولیوشن پاس کئے ہیں اسمبلی میں، اٹانومی کی بحالی کے لئے، آپ ہی بتائیے اس اٹانومی کے ریزیلیوشن کے بارے میں آپ کی کیا رائے ہے؟ جمہوری نظام میں یقین رکھنے والے لوگوں کو جمہوری نظام اور جمہوری قدروں کی پاسداری کی قسم کھانے والی جماعتوں کو میرا ایک سوال ہے۔ چاہے وہ اس طرف سے بھٹنے والے لوگ ہوں یا اس طرف سے بیٹھنے والے لوگ ہوں، اگر تین چوتھائی اکثریت سے ایک ریاستی اسمبلی میں ریزولیوشن پاس کیا ہے، ان-ہیرٹیج کے لئے نہیں ریزولیوشن پاس کیا ہے، آئین میں جو ضمانتیں دی گئی تھیں، آئین بنانے والوں نے آئین بناتے وقت، ریاست جموں کو ایک خاص درجہ دیا گیا تھا دفعہ 370 کے تحت۔ اگر تین چوتھائی اکثریت سے ایک چنی ہوئی اسمبلی نے ایک قرارداد پیش کی ہے کہ اس پوزیشن کو واپس اپنی جگہ پر لیا جائے، کیوں کہ فرقہ پرست قوتوں کے دباؤ میں آکر یا کچھ اور مصلحتوں کے تابع گزشتہ 60 سالوں میں اس خود مختاری کو نہایت کمزور بنا دیا گیا۔ کوئی آسمان نہیں گرنے والا، چاند نہیں مانگ رہے ہیں جموں کشمیر کو عوام۔ وہ کہتے ہیں آئین کو بنانے والوں، جو کمٹمینٹ آئین میں درج کرائی تھی ریاست جموں کشمیر کو خود مختاری کی، اس کی پاسداری کی، اس کی خود مختاری کو بحال کیجئے۔ اور اس پر سوال یہاں اٹھائے جاتے ہیں، آپ بتائیے کہ اس ریزولیوشن کو آپ مانتے ہیں یا نہیں مانتے ہیں؟ میں یہاں پر یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب نوے کی دہائی میں، ایک مسلح مزاحمت کے روپ میں ایک تحریک وہاں شروع ہوئی، ریاست جموں کشمیر میں۔ اسی ایوان میں ملک کے وزیر اعظم نرسمہاراؤ جی نے یہ نہیں کہا ریاست جموں کشمیر کی عوام کو، کہ علیحدگی کی بات مت کیجئے۔ جہاں تک آئین کے اندر آپ کو خود مختاری

کا معاملہ ہے، اس کے لئے آسمان تک جا سکتے ہیں، ."sky is the limit" یہ ان کے الفاظ تھے، جو اس ایوان میں انہوں نے کہے۔ کیا یہ بات اپنی جگہ پر درست نہیں ہے کہ اس حکومت کے بدلنے کے بعد جو نئے وزیر اعظم دیوگوڑا جی یہاں پر آئے، انہوں نے جموں کشمیر میں الیکشن سے پہلے یہ گارنٹی دے دی، اس وقت کے کامن منمم پروگرام میں رکھا کہ ریاست جموں کشمیر کو گریٹر اٹانومی ریسٹور کی جائے۔ ان کا بیان بھی لوک سبھا میں موجود ہے۔ آج ہم سے جموں کشمیر کے لوگ پوچھتے ہیں کہ ملک کے وزیر اعظم کس کی طرف سے بیان دیتے ہیں؟ یہ بحیثیت فردا ان کا بیان تھا کہ بعد میں جماعت بھول جائے گی۔ یہ تو قوم کی طرف سے بیان تھا، اس وقت تو سب نے واہ واہ کی تھی۔ اس سے بھی کسی کو انکار ہے کہ جب شری اٹل بہاری واجپئی جی 2003 میں جموں کشمیر میں گئے، تو انہوں نے جموں کشمیر کے لوگوں کو مہجور کا ایک شعر پڑھ کر سنایا،

کلوہا باغبانوں نوبہار چاند پیدا کر
فلن گلگت کا رنگ بلبل تجھ سا مان پیدا کر

اے میرے بھائیوں، واجپئی جی کا اپنا انداز ہے، مہجور کا شعر پڑھا:

چلو ہم ملکر اس گلستاں کو
اک نئی شان دے دیں، نئی آن دے دیں
اور ایسے پھول یہاں پر کھلائیں
جو آج تک اس باغ میں نہیں کھلے

اسی شاعر کے آخری شعر میں یہ بات لکھی تھی:

کری بلبل آزاد پنج ازمن نالاں تھی
پنے دست پنے مشکل آسان پیدا کر

بھئی، نیا گلستاں تو بناؤ، لیکن نیا گلستاں کب بنے گا؟ جب اس کے عوام کو آپ زنجیروں سے، تھوڑی سی آپ زنجیریں کاٹ دو، اس کو پنجرے میں بند نہیں رکھو۔

تب اس کی مشکلیں آسان ہوں گی، تب نیا گلستاں آپ پیدا کریں گے، تب نئے پھول کھلیں گے۔ کیا یہ جو کمٹمینٹ دی گئی تھی، میں تو نہیں سمجھتا کہ یہ کوئی فریب تھا۔ کیا واجپئی جی نے یہ باتیں نہیں کہی تھیں کہ میں انسانیت کی بنیاد پر کشمیر کے مسئلے کو حل کرنا چاہتا ہوں، بار بار دوہرایا، 2002 میں بھی دوہرایا جب وہاں پر گئے۔ ان سے پوچھا گیا کہ آپ کس بنیاد پر یہاں پر بات چیت کے ذریعے اس مسئلے کا حل چاہتے ہیں۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ "on the basis of humanity" انسانیت کی بنیاد پر۔ وہ انسانیت کا بڑا وسیع الظہور ہے۔ انسانیت کا تصور تو ساری دنیا میں نہیں، بین الاقوامی سطح پر، قبول عام کا تصور ہے کہ انسانیت کی بنیاد کو کیسے آپ ان لوگوں کے حقوق کی، جمہوری امنگوں کی، پاسداری کرتے ہوئے، اس کو شریک کار بناؤ۔ اس کی سرداریت کو قبول کرو، ملک کے آئین کے دائرے کے اندر۔ مجھے افسوس ہو رہا ہے جب کہ ایک مقتدر ممبر، میں جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کے ساتھ ہمارے تعلقات بھی رہے ہیں، وہ ہمارے اخبار کے ایڈیٹر بھی رہے ہیں۔ جب یہ سوال کر رہے تھے، شاید ڈرا رہے تھے یوپی۔اے۔ کو، مجھے امید ہے وہ ڈریں گےنہیں۔ ہاں، وہ ہمارے ساتھ جموں کشمیر کی حکومت میں شریک ہیں اور ہم بھی ان کے ساتھ شریک ہیں۔ برابری کی بنیاد پر اس ملک کے استحکام کے لئے ہم شریک ہیں۔ ہمارے ساتھ انصاف ہونا چاہئے۔ ایک ریزولیوشن پاس ہوا، اس کی بنیاد پر بات چیت کرنے کے بعد، اس مسئلے کا حل ڈھونڈ لیا جانا چاہئے۔ جو داخلی پہلو ہے۔ اس مسئلے کا ایک خارجی پہلو بھی ہے جموں کشمیر کے مسئلے کا۔ یہ بہت مہان دیش ہے۔ امریکہ نے پاکستان کے ساتھ کہیں کوئی بات کر دی اور ہم فوری طور پر یہاں گھبرا جائیں اور پریشانی کا اظہار کر دیں، تو یہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے، کیوں کہ یہ کافی بڑا دیش ہے۔ ہم یہ فخر کے ساتھ کہتے ہیں کہ صرف 2020 ہی نہیں، بلکہ پوری صدی ہی ہندوستان کی صدی ہے اور ہم ایشیا کی ایک بہت بڑی طاقت کے روپ میں ابھر رہے ہیں۔ یہاں پر جو

ہمارے دوست ارون شوری جی ہیں، جب یہ ٹائمس آف انڈیا اور انڈین ایکسپریس اخبار کے ایڈیٹر تھے، تب ان کے ساتھ ہمارے بڑے گہرے رشتے رہے ہیں۔ انہوں نے یہاں پر اس طرح سے یہ معاملہ پیش کیا ہے کہ اگر آپ نے بات کی، تو آپ پاکستان کے ساتھ ہیں۔ جو اس میں کمپوزٹ ڈائیلاگ ہے، اس میں مسئلہ کشمیر بھی ہے۔ پھر کیا ہوگا؟ بس آپ خطرے میں پڑ جائیں گے۔ شاید 60 کی دہائی میں یہ بات معنی رکھتی ہو، لیکن ہم 70 کی دہائی میں بھی یہ مارجن دے دیں گے، یہ بات کہی جا سکتی ہے۔ لیکن آج 21ویں صدی کی پہلی دہائی میں کوئی یہ بات کہے، قوم پرستی کے نام پر یہ کہے، یہ ہماری سمجھ سے پرے ہے۔ ہماری سمجھ میں یہ بات نہیں آتی ہے کہ جب کشمیر کے حوالے سے یہ بات آتی ہے، تو آپ کیوں یہاں پر اس طرح کی باتیں کرتے ہیں۔ آپ ایک خوف اور حراس کی فضا پیدا کر رہے ہیں۔ اس لئے ہم چاہتے ہیں، واجپئی جی نے بھی کہا تھا اور جو اب ہمارے پردھان منتری ڈاکٹر منموہن سنگھ جی ہیں، انہوں نے بھی کئی بار کہا ہے کہ دور بدلے جا سکتے ہیں، ہم شاید نہیں بدل سکتے۔ ہمیں شاید ان کے ساتھ بات چیت کرنی پڑے گی۔ ہماری فوجیں دو سال تک، تین سال تک ساری سرحدوں پر رہیں۔ مجھے آج بھی اڈوانی جی کے وہ بیانات یاد ہیں کہ ہمیں 20 آدمی دوگے، تو ہم بات چیت کریں گے، تب ہم اپنی فوجیں واپس لائیں گے۔ میں آپ کو یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ ہمیں 20 میں سے 20 مرغے بھی واپس نہیں دیں گے۔ آپ آدمیوں کی بات تو چھوڑ دیجئے اگر ان 20 آدمیوں کے بدلے یہاں مرغے ہی واپس لے آئے ہوتے، تب بھی بات بنتی۔ دو سال کے بعد اسلام آباد جا کر اعلان اسلام آباد کرکے، بات چیت کا نیا سلسلہ دوبارہ پھر شروع کیا۔ ہماری فوجوں کو بھی کسی حد تک سرحدوں سے واپس بلانا پڑا۔ ہم کس انتظار میں ہیں۔ یہ بڑا دیش ہے، مہان دیش ہے۔ آپ سری لنکا کے ساتھ بھی بات کیجئے، نیپال کے ساتھ بھی بات کیجئے اور پاکستان کے ساتھ بات چیت کرنے میں کوئی ہچکچاہٹ نہیں ہونی چاہئے۔ میں

اس لئے بھی یہ بات کہتا ہوں کہ جموں کشمیر نیشنل کانفرنس کے جو موقف ہیں، وہ یہاں پر بھی یو پی۔اے۔ کے موقف ہیں۔ ایک باہری تعلقات کو استوار کرنے کے لئے اور دہشت گردی کے خلاف جو یہ لڑائی ہے، ہمیں مشترکہ طورپر یہ لڑائی لڑنی ہوگی۔ اگر امریکہ پاکستان کو ایک سینٹرل لائن اسٹیٹ سمجھتا ہے، تو ہم کو بھی سمجھنا چاہئے۔ اگر پاکستان دہشت گردی کے خلاف لڑائی میں کامیاب ہوتا ہے، تو یہ بھی ایک طرح سے ہندوستان کی کامیابی ہے۔ اگر وہاں دہشت گردی کی لڑائی، کسی طرح سے کمزور پڑ جاتی ہے، تو اس کے اثرات ہم پر بھی مرتب ہوں گے، ہم پر بھی اس کے اثرات پڑیں گے۔ اگر اس میں مدد کے لئے ڈھائی لاکھ کی ضرورت پڑتی ہے، ہر ایک نے کنڈم کیا، پاکستان نے بھی کنڈم کیا اور ساری دنیا نے کنڈم کیا، جو ممبئی کے حوالے سے جو واقعات ہوئے۔ ساتھ ہی ساتھ تعلقات کی استواری کے لئے اور مسئلہ کشمیر کو حل کرنے کے لئے، بحالی طور پر بھی اور اس کے خارجی پہلو ہیں، ان پر بھی ہمیں نظر رکھنی چاہئے۔ ہمیں پاکستان کے ساتھ ڈائیلاگ کرنے میں ہچکچاہٹ نہیں چاہئے، پر میں جانتا ہوں کہ آپ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ میں جلدی ختم کروں۔ میں کیول دو تین اور نقطے بیان کروں گا۔ مجھے اس میں تھوڑی سی اس لئے وضاحت سے بات کرنی پڑی، کیوں کہ میں دو دن سے جو یہاں پر بات چیت سن رہا ہوں، اس کے براہ راست اثرات ہماری ریاست میں قلم بند ہیں۔ ہم اور آپ سبھی یہاں سنتے آئے ہیں کہ یہ الیکشن، جمہوری عمومی کی ترجمانی ہوتی ہے، تو ہمارے عوام کی بھی کچھ جمہوری عمومی ہیں ان کی ترجمانی بھی مجھے کرنے دیجئے۔

مجھے ایک دو اور گزارش کرنی ہے۔ یہاں پر نیشنل سیکورٹی کے حوالے سے بات ہوئی۔ بہت اچھی بات ہے۔ ہر ایک چاہے گا کہ ملک سلامت رہے، سکیور رہے، اس کے بارڈرس محفوظ رہیں۔ کوئی اس آنکھ سے اس ملک کی طرف نہ دیکھے، ہر ایک کی یہ خواہش ہے۔ سرحدیں محفوظ رہیں گی، تو ملک

محفوظ رہے گا، تو پھر ہم باہمی مکالمے کے ذریعےاپنے مسائل بھی طے کر سکتے ہیں۔ اندرونی طور پر استحکام ہوگا، یہ بہت ضروری ہے، تو فرقہ وارانہ فسادات نہیں ہوں گے اور یہاں پر ایک اچھا ہماہنگی کا ماحول اور بھائی برداری کا ماحول ملک میں قائم رہے گا، تو ملک میں استحکام ہوگا۔ لیکن مجھے یہ کہنے کی اجازت دیجئے کہ ماضی میں بھی بڑے سخت گیر قوانین بنے ہیں، صرف قوانین بنانے سے تو مسائل حل نہیں ہوتے۔ اندرونی طور پر آپ دیکھئے کہ نکسلائٹ کیوں تشدد کر رہا ہے۔ یہ نارتھہ ایسٹ میں جو تشدد کی تحریکیں ہیں، جو violent movement ہیں، ان کے پیچھے کیا جذبات کارفرما ہیں۔ ان کی طرف بھی توجہ دے دیجئے۔ آپ ان معاملات میں multi-dimensional approach رکھہ لیجئے۔ معاملات کو درست کرنے کے لئے آپ کی ایک کثیر الجہتی اپروچ ہونی چاہئے۔ قانون کو سخت بنائیے اور اگر کوئی قانون توڑنے والا یا دہشت گردی کرنے والا پکڑا جائے، تو اس کو تحویل کیجئے۔ لیکن دہشت گردی کے نام پر آپ، پہلے بھی شکایتیں رہی ہیں، کسی طبقات کو شکار مت بنائیے۔ آپ اس میں بھی ڈائیلاگ کے عمل کو لائیں۔

یہاں پر ایک اور بات بہت ضروری ہے۔ کسی نے اس کی طرف دھیان نہیں دیا۔ حالانکہ گزشتہ پانچ سالوں میں ہم بہت کچھہ اس معاملے میں اس ہاؤس میں بھی اور اس ہاؤس میں بھی مباحثیں سنتے رہے، وہ ہے electoral reform کے بارے میں۔ کسی نے الیکشن کمیشن کو مورد الزام ٹھہرانے کی کوشش کی، لیکن اس سے بھی زیادہ خطرناک بات اس وقت اس ملک میں ہو رہی ہے، وہ ہے ووٹ حاصل کرنے کے لئے روپے پیسے کا استعمال۔ آج 500 سے لے کر 5000 روپے تک ووٹ خریدے جاتے ہیں۔ آپ اندازہ لگائیے کہ 500 اور 5000 روپے دے کر ووٹ خریدے جانے سے کیا جمہوری قدروں کی پاسداری ہوگی، کیا جمہوری قدروں کو اس سے فروغ ملے گا، کیا جمہوری قدریں اس سے مستحکم ہوں گی،

برگز نہیں ہو سکتیں۔ میری یہ گزارش ہوگی، یہاں آنریبل منسٹر بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں، وقت آ گیا ہے کہ آپ کو منی پاور کو الیکشن کے اس پروسیز میں کم کرنے کے لئے اقدامات کرنے پڑیں گے، ورنہ یہ خطرہ ہے کہ اگلے 20-10 سال میں اس سارے الیکٹورل پروسز سے لوگوں کا اعتماد اٹھ جائے گا۔ پھر کوئی غریب آدمی، جو کتنی اہلیت بھی رکھتا ہوگا، لیکن ووٹ خریدنے کی پوزیشن میں نہیں ہوگا، تو وہ الیکشن کے اس پروسیز میں حصہ ہی نہیں لے سکے گا۔ پھر آپ کس کی شراکت کریں گے اور کس کو یقینی بنائی گے، اس کی طرف بھی توجہ دینے کی ضرورت ہے۔

میں دو تین منٹ میں ریاست کے حوالے دو تین باتیں کہنا چاہوں گا۔ میں محسوس کرتا ہوں کہ آپ نے مجھے تھوڑا سا ٹائم دے دیا، لیکن کیا کریں۔ کہتے ہیں کہ نقش ہیں سب ناتمام، خون جگر کے بغیر، نہ ہے سب ضائع خون جگر کے بغیر۔ مجھے ریاست کے حوالے سے دو تین باتیں کہنی ہیں۔ تقریبا سال پہلے سے قصہ ہو رہا ہے۔ چھ مہینے ہو گئے، ابھی تک ہماری اس ریاست کا پلان فائنالائز نہیں ہوا۔ وہاں ورکنگ چیزیں بہت کم ہیں۔ کب آپ کا بجٹ پاس ہوگا، کب آپ ہمارے بجٹ کو فائنالائز کر دیں گے اور کب ہم کا شروع کریں گے؟ نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ ہمیں وہاں پر بہت کم اثرات نظر آئیں گے، بے اطمینانی موجود ہے۔ الیکشن تو ہو گئے ہیں، ہم لوگوں نے بھرپور طریقے سے ووٹ بھی دیا ہے، لیکن لوگ تو زمین تر کام چاہیں گے۔ اس لئے حکومت سے میری یہ گزارش ہوگی کہ وہ ہمارے پلان کو جلد فائنالائز کرے۔

میں ایک بات اور کہنا چاہتا ہوں، بس دو منٹ میں اپنی بات کو ختم کر دوں گا۔ باقی ریاستوں کا بھی یہ مسئلہ ہے اور ہمارا بھی یہی مسئلہ ہے، وہ ہے ان-ایمپلائمنٹ۔ لیکن ایک چھوٹی سی ریاست ہے، جہاں پانچ لاکھ سے زیادہ پڑھے لکھے نوجوان، گریجویٹ، پوسٹ گریجویٹ، انجینئرس، ڈاکٹرس،

بی۔اے۔ایم۔ایس۔، اسکلڈ ورکرس بیکار ہیں۔ میں مرکزی حکومت سے چاہوں گا، آپ نے ان۔ایمپلائمنٹ کا ذکر تو کیا ہے، لیکن پانچ لاکھ بیروزگار لوگوں کے لئے آپ کی طرف سے کوئی اسپیشل پیکج بھی دیا جائے۔ اگر فوری طور پر آپ اس کی طرف کوئی توجہ نہیں دیتے، میں یہ نہیں کہوں گا کیوں کہ وہاں پر ابھی بھی پوری طرح سے حالات نارمل نہیں ہیں، ہم سب لوگ سر ہتھیلی پر رکھ کر سیاسی عمل اور جمہوری عمل کو جاری رکھیں۔ ان پانچ لاکھ نوجوانوں کو روزگار فراہم کرنے کے لئے کوئی اسپیشل پیکج دینا پڑے گا اور یہ جتنا جلد ہو سکے، اتنا ہی اس کے لئے بہتر ہوگا۔

ماندی شمشیر ہے دست قضا محکوم
رکھتی ہے جو زماں اپنے عمل کا حساب

شکریہ (ختم شد)

SHRI RAMA CHANDRA KHUNTIA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by our distinguished leader, Chaturvediji and supported by Dr. Keshava Raoji. This Motion is being discussed for the last three days in this House. As we all know, Sir, it is the UPA which has got the mandate of the people in these elections; and this is reflected in the President's Address. We got this mandate because we had fulfilled all the promises that were made in our election manifesto. The Congress Party has done a really good work for the *aam admi*. Moreover, the UPA has a great leader like Dr. Manmohan Singhji, who is the Prime Minister. He is honest and an able administrator. Can anybody accuse him of any misdeed? Then, we have a dynamic youth leader like our General Secretary, Shri Rahul Gandhi. We have a very able leader in Shrimati Sonia Gandhiji, who is the chairperson of the UPA. She is the only leader who could sacrifice the post of Prime Minister. This time too, if she had expressed her desire to occupy the post of Prime Minister, she could have become the Prime Minister; nobody would have challenged it. But she again sacrificed it and led the Party.

Sir, I want to say something about the poor and *'aam admi'*, the labourer for whom this Government has done many things, both in the organised and in the unorganised sector. If you look at the organised sector, it is this Government which had finalised and implemented the recommendations of the Sixth Pay Commission well in time. The recommendations had been implemented in time. The implementation of the Sixth Pay Commission actually put pressure on

the State Governments, the PSUs and even the private sector to enhance the salaries of their employees. So, all this goes to the credit of this Government. The gratuity limit has been increased to Rs.10 lakhs. The bonus ceiling and the total amount of bonus has also been increased. The ESIC EPF ceiling has also been increased. The Aam Admi Bima Yojana ensures medical care and social security to the aam admi. Housing schemes for slum dwellers, as also the city dwellers, have been provided to see to it that, by 2014, there are no slum-dwellers without houses. I certainly feel that this is a great assurance made on the part of the Government to the slum dwellers. As far as the proposal for giving reservation to women is concerned, many hon. Members criticised it here. At present, there is 33 per cent reservation for women in Panchayats and Municipalities and the target is to increase it to 50 per cent. The Government also wants to pass the Women Reservation Bill to give 33 per cent reservation to women in Parliament and State Legislatures. This Government is going to bring in this Bill within 100 days of its coming to power. We must also feel proud that we have a democracy where the hon. President is a woman, the hon. Speaker is a woman and the Government is also giving an assurance that proper reservation will be given to women in Central Government and public sector jobs. Some people are saying that the benefit of reservation should also be extended to the Other Backward Classes. We don't have any objection to that. But the fact remains that, as per the Constitution, the benefit of reservation could be given what is given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So far, we don't have any reservation for OBC men. There is no reservation for OBC men, and how can they claim that they will stall the Women Reservation Bill? This is not fair. Let it be discussed in Parliament first. If we are so powerful, then, first bring the reservation for OBC men in the Act, then, they can claim for the women. Sir, with increased women literacy, we have to give power to women. The idea of the National Women Commission to give more powers to women is definitely a good thing.

Sir, when the NDA Government was in power, they privatised so many industries; they privatised many hotels; and they privatised food industries, BALCO. But, after the UPA Government came to power, it has not privatised any public sector unit. It has rather protected the workers of the public sector units. As far as the Provident Fund is concerned, when the NDA Government was in power, it reduced the interest rate on Provident Fund. But, when this Government came to power in 2004, it continued to give more interest on Provident Fund. Although the bank interest rates have gone down considerably, the Government has kept the PF interest rate at the same level of 8.5 per cent. In this way, the Government is trying to protect the interests of these workers. For the unorganised sector, the Bill has already been passed. The Bill for agricultural workers is also coming very soon before the Parliament. As 92.50 per cent workers belong to the unorganised sector, it is very important to protect their interests, their social security, and the future security of their families.

Sir, the most important thing which has been assured through the President's Address is to create 500 million skilled workers in this country, which is the requirement of today. In these modern technology days, majority of our workers are unskilled. After five or ten years, they will have no jobs because they are unskilled and they would not be able to work on modern machines. So, it is a welcome decision to create 500 million skilled workers in this country. I really appreciate this step of the Government. The Government is working for the welfare of the workers.

Sir, it is to the credit of the present Government to increase the minimum wages. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act has not only given 100 days' work but also has enhanced the minimum wages of the workers in various States. There are many States where the workers are getting more wages. But, there are some States like Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Maharashtra, etc., where the minimum wages are still lower. The Labour Department of this Government gave instructions for enhancement of the minimum wages firstly to Rs.50, then, Rs.60, and then to Rs.80. And, in this President's Address, it has been assured that the minimum wages will be Rs.100 so that the poor person will not get a wages which is less than two dollars *i.e.*, Rs.100. I think this is also a good initiative of UPA Government.

Sir, the National Employment Guarantee Act is very helpful in giving 100 days' guaranteed jobs to the unemployed people. But, this is not enough. The Government should try to give more guaranteed days' jobs to the poor people in future so that the workers can feel more secure. Speaking on this debate in this House, an hon. Member from Orissa demanded more royalty for mines. I also agree with him in demanding more royalty for mines. As far as Special Category Status for Orissa and royalty for mines are concerned, I am with them. I have no objection to that. But, the question is, more than 10 years ago, when the present Chief Minister of Orissa was the Minister of Mines at the Centre, he could have given more royalty for mines to Orissa and Chhattisgarh.

But when they are not in power here, they are demanding that more royalty should be given in mining ores. I do not have any objection if the royalty is increased, I do not have any objection if the Special Category status is granted to Orissa, and we are also trying for that, but the question is, the Government and the persons who are arguing for more royalty from the mines are taking 26 per cent royalty on earthwork from National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. Now, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act is giving wages to the workers. It is not for taking 26 per cent royalty by the State. They are collecting 26 per cent on work, this should be taken into consideration, and direction should be given not to deduct any royalty on earthwork, which is the real wage of the workers. Sir, whether it is Right to Information Act, whether it is Domestic Violence Act or National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and many such legislations have been passed to protect the rights of the tribal, workers, labourers, women and also Dalits and also 'aam aadmi'. Now the question is this.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Sir, one more thing I want to mention here is about our Employees' State Insurance Corporation. They have at the instance of the Central Government floated the Rajiv Bima Suraksha Yojana, which is giving security to those workers who are being terminated in view of closure of any factory or any shop. This scheme gives around six months salary in 12 months when a worker does not get any employment. This has been done by the Government through the State Employees' Insurance Corporation. The other thing, which has been done through ESI Corporation, is to improve the medical care. The ESI Corporation has taken a decision to have medical colleges in different States. Because they have the money, they are having medical colleges in different States. Yesterday also the Standing Committee approved having medical colleges in Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra, Delhi, Haryana and in many other places. But, unfortunately some States which are not giving land, the work on these medical colleges is not being started there. Also unfortunately, Orissa also is a State, which I belong to, it is not giving 25 acres land, and for that reason a medical college cannot be started which is to be started by the Central Government through the ESI Corporation. Sir, about Social Security Act and so many other things an assurance has been given in the President's Address for the construction workers, for the forest workers, for weavers, etc. I think that is a great idea, which has been indicated in this Address. When you call *'aam aadmi'*, who is that *'aam aadmi'*, *'aam aadmi'* is a person who is working in the unorganised sector, lives in the village, and does not get wages and social security benefit. Sir, I want to mention one point here about the social security and forest workers also. We talk about the *aam aadmi* and poor workers also. Some of the hon. Members also mentioned here that in view of the economic slowdown, in view of the recession in the world, there is apprehension of retrenchment of many workers. I must thank our Prime Minister Manmohan Singh because he has taken a good step by calling the industrialists, talking with them, and requesting them to give some package to them and not to take any hasty action by which the workers will be affected. One the one hand, it is helping the industrialists or the industrial corporate houses who are investing money, and on the other, it is also asking them to protect the workers. This is the stand, which has been taken by our Prime Minister. (**Time-bell rings**) Sir, one more point. Sir, I would like to mention one thing, which has been mentioned by one of the BJP Members here regarding not appreciating the non-Congress State Governments' work. It is not correct. I want inform the House that our General Secretary, Rahul Gandhi, has appreciated the work done and action taken by Shri Nitish Kumar, Chief Minister of Bihar publicly. He has also appreciated in the Lok Sabha about the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the former Prime Minister. It is not that Congress leaders do not appreciate the work done by other non-Congress Governments. Many times, Smt. Sonia Gandhi appreciated the work of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee in Parliament and extended co-operation when the militants attached Parliament. But the point is, the Opposition BJP Party must have that courage to

appreciate the good work done by the UPA Government and I expect, as they have said, they will co-operate with the Government on all good legislation and good decisions or motions which will be brought by this Government. Thank you.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Thank you Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir.

I rise to support the Motion moved by Mr. Satyavrat Chaturvedi and seconded by Dr. K. Keshava Rao to thank the hon. President for her Address to both the Houses of Parliament.

Sir, "when the whole world is sleeping, India is awake". It was thus Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru*ji* started his historic speech "tryst with destiny" on the midnight of August 14, 1947.

Likewise, when the whole world was stumbling during the recession, our country not only withstood that crucial crisis period, but it also emerged as the second successful growing economic power in the world.

On the 24th February, 2009, Mr. Barak Obama, the promising leader, who represents the once oppressed and suppressed class, while assuming the Office of the coveted US President, as a symbol of political evolution theory, addressed both the Houses of the Congress. Sir, with your permission, I would like to quote a few lines. He said, "I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others. If you haven't been personally affected by this recession, you probably know someone who has — a friend; a neighbour; a member of your family. You don't need to hear another list of statistics to know that our economy is in crisis, because you live it everyday. It's the worry you wake up with and the source of sleepless nights. It's the job you thought you would retire from but now have lost; the business you built your dreams upon that's now hanging by a thread; the college acceptance letter your child had to put back in the envelop. The impact of this recession is real, and it is everywhere." Whereas, our hon. President, in her Address to both the Houses of Parliament, on 4th June, 2009, said assertively, "My Government sees the overwhelming mandate it has received as a vindication of the policy architecture of inclusion that it put in place. It is a mandate for inclusive growth, equitable development and a secular and plural India...My Government will ensure that the growth process is not only accelerated but also made socially and regionally more inclusive and equitable." We are very proud that after performing for five years and uplifting this country economically, socially, industrially and educationally, we went to the people for their judgment. The people not dissuaded by the cock and bull stories of the Opposition parties and without being carried away by their dissuasion, have given a very clear mandate. Their overwhelming support approves of the performance of a good governance. Not only that, the mandate is in favour of secularism. The verdict is advocating for pluralism. Anyone who performs well will be appreciated by the people is what we have learnt in the recent election results.

Sir, understanding the time constraint, I would not take much time. Realising the aspirations of the people, the President has emphasised on Government's objective to seek the approval of the Prevention of Communal Violence Bill. I am from the DMK Party, a pioneer party in social reformation. We have got a very good track record. This is not mere boasting. The first amendment to the Constitution was made in the year 1951, which paved way for reservations. It was at the initiation of Thanthai Periyar, Arignar Anna and Kamarajar from Tamil Nadu. So also, in everything progressive that has been carried out in this country, we have a role. When the UPA waived off the farmers' loan to the tune of Rs. 70,000 crores, preceeding to that, two years earlier, we had waived off loans of farmers to the tune of Rs. 7,000 crores. We have implemented all the progressive schemes that have been introduced by the Central Government. In this context, I would like to say that the Government has proposed to enact the National Food Security Bill, which will entitle every family, below the poverty line, in rural as well urban areas, to 25 kgs. of rice or wheat per month at the rate of Rs. 3/- per kilogram. The Tamil Nadu is not only the sole State in the country to universalise the public distribution system, but is also giving rice at the rate of Re. 1/- per kilogram. I don't expect the Central Government to immediately give rice or wheat at the rate of Re. 1/- per kilogram. But I would like to insist upon that the universalisation of the public distribution system must be taken note of and implemented at the earliest. So also, the Mid-Day Meal Scheme, which provides meal to crores of children, was also first brought in Tamil Nadu by Late Kamarajar. Now, under this Mid-Day Meal Scheme, we are giving three eggs per week to every student. And those students who do not eat eggs are given fruits. Looking forward to the introduction and enactment, the Amendment Bill to the Land Acquisition Act...*(Interruptions)* Sir, I would take just two more minutes. The Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, intended to protect farmers and others dependent on farming, is a welcome move. I personally thank the UPA Government, which was in power earlier, for having declared Tamil as a classical language. And, now, with an optimistic outlook, I eagerly expect that the day is not far behind when all the regional languages, which are there in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, will be declared as official languages of the Union. And, as a first step to that goal, I expect and urge upon the Government to declare Tamil, the hoary language, to be the first Union language from the regional languages. We have also advocated for declaration of Tirukural as the national text. We again propose that. Any optimistic outlook will pave way for a better tomorrow. I believe in the maxim 'dreams come true'. A classless society was once the dream of Marx; a colourless society was the dream of Lincoln; a free nation was the dream of Mahatama*ji* and our nation to be in the forefront as a super power was the dream of Pandit*ji*. A casteless society of Periyar, we are all seeing. What we dream now is a future nation with prosperity, devoid of communal violence. We will be a super power in the next decade. Thanks to the UPA Government's past performance and the present assumption to office. Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI T. RATNA BAI (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank you for having given me an opportunity to participate in the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. I also thank the hon. President of India for spelling out the priorities of the Government, which, I am sure, would be achieved under the able stewardship of hon. Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singhji and our beloved leader, the UPA Chairperson, Madam Sonia Gandhiji.

The ten broad areas chosen by the Government for the next five years highlight the fact that the Government is fully aware of what needs to be done in the prevailing circumstances when the whole world is reeling under recession for reasons that are beyond our control and putting the driving mechanisms in place to achieve the targets that it has set for itself. Some of the priority areas identified by the Government are - consolidation of the existing flagship programmes for employment, education, health, rural infrastructure, welfare measures for children, youth, women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, minorities, the disabled and the elderly people in the society. This Government has initiated the welfare measures for all the sections of the society.

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act has proved to the whole world that it has been very effective as a social protection measure. Millions of people have benefited from this flagship programme of the UPA Government and many millions of people would be benefited in future also. I request that this flagship programme may be extended to the agency areas of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes without any limit, that is, beyond 100 days of employment, because the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people would be more benefited from this flagship programme.

Many hon. Members have already referred to various things mentioned in the President's Address; therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to highlight the problems being faced by the tribal people in various parts of the country, especially in Andhra Pradesh, with a request that the same may please be taken note of.

The National Rural Health Mission has, certainly, strengthened the rural public health infrastructure. The infant mortality is between 120 - 212 per 1,000 live births, but the average in Andhra Pradesh is about 62. The reasons for this are the poor quality of medical services in the tribal areas and the extinction of centuries-old traditional knowledge and health practices of these communities besides malnutrition and diarrhoea.

Every year, during the monsoon season, epidemics prevail in the Scheduled Areas and many innocent children die due to the far location of Primary Health Centres in Scheduled Areas, especially, in Andhra Pradesh. The staff posted at Primary Health Centres is inadequate. I request the Government to improve the quality of services being extended through these Primary Health Centres and sub-centres in Scheduled Agency areas in Andhra Pradesh.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and Mid-day programmes are highly commendable programmes and these will reduce the drop-out levels in schools. The intention of the Government to make

every woman literate in the next five years through National Mission for Female Literacy is very noble and it is a laudable measure. I would like to emphasize that special attention should be given to the Scheduled Tribe girl students because the drop-out rate in their case, especially, in Andhra Pradesh is quite high, *i.e.* more than 80 per cent. As compared to the national figure of 54 plus, it stands around 25 - 26 per cent. The Scheduled Tribe boys also face a similar situation in Andhra Pradesh. I request the Government to establish schools of excellence for SC/ST girls and boys. Absenteeism of teachers should be taken seriously. This will enhance the academic standards of SC/ST in Scheduled Agency areas. More tribal hostels should be set up to avoid overcrowd.

I wish to point out that since the tribals do not have access to land records, they are getting exploited by the non-tribals. I request the Government to implement the Forest Rights Act very strictly without any exploitation by the non-tribals. The lands meant for the tribals should be earmarked clearly so that there should be no ambiguity in implementing the Forest Rights Act. For this purpose, the officers should be trained in demarcation.

The Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, which speaks about protecting people from unfair displacement, should pay sufficient compensation where displacement takes place due to construction of dams, mining and other projects. I request the Government to give due attention to the rehabilitation of tribals. Sir, with these few words, I would like to conclude my speech.

SHRI ABANI ROY (West Bengal): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman for giving me this opportunity.

Sir, first of all, I would like to say that after a long struggle, we have been able to get freedom. Now, so far as the Presidential Address is concerned, I am astonished to find that while writing the speech for the President, they write "My Government". I think, this is a contradictory term because we are a democratic country, and, in democracy, it is the Government of the people. So, there is no question of writing "My Government." So, I think, from the next time, in any speech which the Government writes, they should not use the term "My Government". They should delete it. ...*(Interruptions)*... They may use whatever other terms which are available like "Our Government", "People's Government", "The Government", etc. That is not my point. My point is that it is the Government of the people, by the people and for the people. So, these words "My Government" should be deleted.

Then, I would like to congratulate the Election Commission and the large number of officials, as the President has already done, together with the Police Force and Paramilitary Forces who conducted a smooth and peaceful election of such a large magnitude. Along with this, I would like to mention one other thing. Sir, what I have noticed particularly this time is that

while campaigning, for getting votes, many political parties or the candidates have gone to the people for bribing them in a different way, sometimes by paying cash or by distributing liquor and sometimes offering certain other things. So, to all those who are saying here that due to better performance, they got maximum number of seats, I would like to remind them not to adopt such type of practices. It is nothing but the purchase of votes, which is not at all legal.

Then, I would also like to congratulate our voters who applied their mind at the time of voting to eliminate or avoid the candidates who have some criminal or communal background or having caste-based qualifications and voted for a stable Government at the Centre to protect their livelihood, particularly, the livelihood of the *aam aadmi*, *i.e.*, weaker sections of the urban and rural areas. They have also voted to safeguard the interest of all sections of minorities of the country. I hope that the Government will fulfil their legitimate demands with due respect, particularly, in respect of providing them drinking water, health care, education, jobs, shelter, etc., which the previous Government, together with the State Governments, failed to provide to the large number of people living in the rural areas, except the promises they made in the manifesto or in the Presidential speech.

Sir, due to shortage of time, I am not going into the details of Paragraphs 8 and 9. You have mentioned many things. Everybody is saying the Prime Minister is honest; the Prime Minister has a very good record. But there is corruption and there is adulteration. If you wish to check these two evils, then, you need to have not just one person who is honest, but the entire Government should be transparent and honest. If we really wish to do something for the people, then, we must remove corruption and adulteration which is a bane to the society and you are aware of the miseries being faced by the people on day-to-day basis. So far as reforms in the Police are concerned, I think while carrying out the reforms, it should be kept in mind that the Police in a democratic country must be a friend to the common man. As per para 16 of the Address, in the name of development of FDI, or, in the name of industrialisation, agricultural land should not be snatched away from people who have nothing except the small piece of land as assets and transfer it to the rich and help them get much richer and evade the poorer ones. They follow the principle of 'garib hatao', not 'garibi hatao'. Then, coming to PPP, promoting PPP is good but you know what you are doing. In the name of PPP, a large number of public sector units are being privatised and a large number of workers are being retrenched every day. Or, those who are working under contracts, they are not getting any benefit. Just now, Mr. Khuntia was speaking. I do not know how he praised the Government when facts are otherwise. On the question of jobs, I must say that there are jobs but industrialists do not want to give the workers their rights; they consider them as their liability; they deprive them of social securities like pension, provident fund, ESI; they create middlemen and contractors for giving jobs and those people cheat the labourers. I think we are going back to the primitive type of industrialisation. Now, many hon. Members have talked about population. On population, I must say that the population was much less at the time of the Britishers. I am talking only about one department of

the Government, that is, the Railways where there were 22 lakhs of employees and, today, look at the population. Where has it gone? The population has gone up many times but the number of workers and employees in the Railways is only 12 lakhs. The Government has been cutting down the jobs day after day. They have been freezing the recruitment. There has been no recruitment to the Group C or Group D posts, clerical posts and so on. Everything is being done through contractual work or outsourcing. Day after day, they have been curtailing the jobs. Whereas, on the one hand they have been talking of jobs, on the other, they have been cutting the jobs continuously. On the question of jobs, my friend here talked about the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. He mentioned that the young people there are not getting jobs. These people are compelled to go elsewhere to earn money by getting involved in wrongful activities which is not good for the nation as a whole. Either they go and join the militant groups or they get into smuggling and so on. That should not happen.

Coming to the question of water resources, there is no storage of rain water. Irrigation facilities till now are not proper. Extracting water from land is creating problems. In the near future, it will be very difficult to get water from land also. So many wings of education are there like Sarva Siksha, Sarvodaya, Navodaya and so on. You are giving mid-day meal, but you are not looking to children who are not coming to schools and who are avoiding schools. We talk of education. We say that the right to education should be there and we must take care of that. If we really want to educate the people, then we have to go to the root cause why children are not coming to schools and why people are not sending their children to schools. We have to find it out. On the question of health, I must say that in Government hospitals medicines are not there, but a large number of new private hospitals and nursing homes are flourishing. I am just referring to paragraphs 21 to 26. So many paragraphs are there. On the question of drinking water, there is no supply of drinking water. You are forcing people to buy bottled water at the rate of Rs.12 per litre. (*Time-bell rings*). Now, I come to the question of shelter. In the coastal areas, at the time of Aila or at the time of any other storm, cyclone or flood, people have lost their lives, belongings, shelters and assets. For that, no help is coming. Sir, casteism should be avoided. I am sorry to say, while making Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Prime Minister, we have not thought of which community he belongs to. Similarly, after sixty years of Independence, it is a shame for the society and for the Indian nation as a whole to call a section 'Dalit' or 'oppressed', and we are promoting it in this way. I think the mention of 'Dalit' in the speech is also not good. We have to eliminate this casteism. The Forest Act should be implemented. For the Administrative Reforms, I must say that bureaucrats should not apply the term 'ABCDE'. 'A' for avoid, 'B' for bypass, 'C' for confuse, 'D' for delay and 'E' for eliminate. Don't do it. Now, I conclude my speech with a poem which I have written today. डा0 मनमोहन सिंह तथा यूपीए का स्लोगन -

"हम करेंगे भारत निर्माण, धनी और धनी न हो, गरीब न हो और गरीब,
हों सब समान, न रहे दलित और न ही रहे छुवाछात ज्ञान।
खत्म हो भ्रष्टाचार, अनाचार, अभिचार और अत्याचार,
सही रूप से बने जनता की सरकार।
हम सभी हैं भारत की सन्तान, पक्के इरादे हों, बनें सच्चे इंसान,
खत्म हो संत्रास, खूनखराबी बंद हो, देश में आए अमन,
महान भारत हो दुनिया में, हो महान।"

धन्यवाद।

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Kerala): Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will take only a few minutes. First of all, along with all others in the House, I also support the President's Motion of Thanks and join the House in extending and conveying our thanks to the President. Sir, the UPA Government has got a spectacular victory, a very comfortable majority for the Government to continue its welfare measures and good governance which they were doing for the past five years. This victory is an approval of the inclusive growth policy of the UPA Government. This is certainly an approval for the good governance of the UPA Government. This victory of the UPA in election is an approval of the dual effective leadership given to the country. The country is proud of the UPA Chairperson, Shrimati Sonia Gandhi and hon. Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh. So, the country has approved that effective dual leadership. This is also a disapproval of the negative politics, negativism adopted by the opposition parties, especially I would like to mention the approach or the position taken by the Left parties. Left parties are extremely dogmatic, a kind of fossilised mindset, not ready to change, and because of that extremely dogmatic ideology, they could not agree to have an alliance or agreement with the United States for the benefit of this country. Nobody, across the board, disputes that the nuclear deal is for the good of the country. In spite of that, and in spite of the fact that the Left parties knew themselves that this Agreement was good for the country, they could not agree.

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN (West Bengal): It is not the Left parties' opinion. It is your opinion. Left parties' opinion is very clear. You know it better. We are not dogmatic at all. Do not blame us.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Now, what I am saying is my opinion.

श्री उपसभापति : प्रो0 कुरियन जी, आप मुझे एड्रेस कीजिए।

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: What I am saying is that because of that dogmatic approach adopted by the Left parties, they were forced to oppose the nuclear deal. They are not prepared to accept the change. They don't agree on any change. But, they should know that the change is the only unchangeable thing in the world and if you are not ready to accept the change, the very change will change you and your destiny. That will happen. Left parties tried to destabilise a Government which was performing very well for the benefit of the people and a Government which people wanted to continue. They tried to destabilise this Government, and, fortunately for

us, they failed in their attempt. Therefore, I am only trying to say that the attitude, as now shown by my friend, Shri Abani Roy, that this election victory is because of managing the elections, bribing the voters; that kind of allegation should not be made. That is denigrating our system. If you win, you will say that the election victory is very good; if you lose, you will say that the election picture is because of 'bribery', this way or that way. That kind of allegation is denigrating our system and is an affront of the voter who elects. I agree that there is corruption and bribery, maybe somewhere here and there. But don't, therefore, try to belittle the mandate which the Congress Party has got because of its good performance.

Sir, having said that, I come to my second point. Sir, in the President's Address, I want one emphasis to be given and that is about the population problem. I feel that adequate attention is not given in this respect. Why do I use the word 'adequate'? Sir, the growth of population is exponential. Whatever development projects we have, whatever may be our growth rate, all that will not finally be tangible on the ground unless we control the population. *...(Interruptions)* Yes, that is why, Vayalar *ji* is now interested in 'population stabilisation'. But I know why you are saying that. I sincerely say, 'population control'. I know the international terminology is 'population stabilisation'. But I say, 'population control'.

Yesterday, my friend, Mr. Raja said in this House to compare our growth with that of China. Why could China achieve that much of growth as compared to us? One of the main reasons is that they could control their population. *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF OVERSEAS INDIAN AFFAIRS (SHRI VAYALAR RAVI): If they do not follow 'one-child norm', they will be punished. *...(Interruptions)*

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: Let me say, they could control their population. *...(Interruptions)* Vayalar *ji* says, 'by coercive methods'. I am not for coercive methods. *...(Interruptions)* Therefore, unless more effective steps are taken for population stabilisation or population control, whatever terminology you may use, all our efforts, I will not say, will come to a naught, but will not be tangible on the ground.

Sir, I come to my third point which is about the BPL list. It has already been mentioned in this House that it is high time that we should revise the BPL list. Sir, my State Government, the Kerala Government had always a complaint. In fact, in many respects, I do not agree with them but on this point, I agree with them. Because of the difference in criteria of the BPL list prepared by the State Government and the Central Government, a large number of our poor people are excluded from the BPL list, and, therefore, do not get the benefit. Therefore, the criteria for the BPL list should be revised. I think, yesterday, this point was also raised by Mr. N.K. Singh and Mr. Raja. I support it. It is an important point.

Sir, I am mentioning only the bullet-points. Next point is global warming. We cannot ignore that challenge. If we ignore that challenge, we are just putting our future generation to the disaster situations. I do not know what will happen later. Sir, two things have to be done. More emphasis has to be given on renewable energy and solar energy usage; more research and more emphasis. I think, something more has to be done. Over the last ten years, we had this Ministry but even then, I think, the progress in this direction was not satisfactory. I said *...(Interruptions).* No, no, listen to me. *....(Interruptions).* I know that everybody is honest. What I said is, most of them are 'reputed' for their honesty and probity. That is the sentence. Everybody is honest. There is no doubt about it. By any scale, by any standard, you measure this Government. You compare it with the NDA Government with regard to probity and honesty. Nobody can point a finger on the Prime Minister or any other Minister of this Cabinet. But political corruption is not the only thing. Corruption among the bureaucracy is also an issue. Steps have to be taken to stop it. Even corruption among the Judiciary is also an issue of concern. The Judiciary also is not above board. But adequate steps are not mentioned in the President's speech to stop corruption among the Judiciary and the bureaucracy. There was already talk of a Judicial Commission. It is already mentioned in the President's speech. I want that the Judicial Commission should be set up and steps should be taken to lessen corruption, if any. Yes, it is there. Even the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has said that 20 per cent of the Judges are corrupt. I hope it should not be. But having said that, I would say that more effective steps should be taken to root out corruption.

Then, Sir, I am coming to my next point. The hon. Minister Shri Vayalar Ravi is here. We have a large number of Non Resident Indians. In fact, one of the reasons why we are getting our foreign exchange remittances is because of NRIs. Kerala's economy is based on NRIs remittances. In spite of the CPI Government ruling again and again, we survived because of the NRI remittances. But, Sir, something has to be done. I am not satisfied with what is done for the NRIs. Mr. Vayalar Ravi, as the Minister for Overseas Affairs has done a lot of things. I admire that. I accept that. But, that is not enough. He himself has announced the other day that voting rights will be given to the NRIs. *...(Interruptions)* Yes, I agree with that. Those Indian citizens who are working abroad, they should get voting rights. In fact, even if they are here at the time of voting, they cannot vote. That is the present position. You are denying them their fundamental right to vote. Something has to be done in this regard. *...(Interruptions).* My point is, it should also have been included in the 100 days programme. That is my point. It is not included in the 100 days programme. But, I am requesting, through you, the hon. Minister that this NRI voting *...(Interruptions).* Yes, you have to take an initiative. You take initiative and ask the Law Minister to do it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How much more time will you take, Mr. Kurien?

3.00 P.M.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I will also go by everybody else. I will take only ten minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But, your ten minutes are over.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I do not want any extra privilege simply because sometimes I also sit on the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would not like to ring the bell. That is why I am asking you.

PROF. P.J. KURIEN: I will stop. I know your time constraint because I myself was sitting there.

Sir, the President in her speech announced about one rank one pension. I welcome it. All our Armed Forces protect our country. It is a welcome step. I have got something to say also about some people who are neglected or ignored by us because of the British legacy, because of the fact that we continued the British legacy. There are some soldiers, some ex-servicemen who could not complete 15 years due to some reason or the other.

Maybe five or seven years after joining the Army he became sick. Maybe he was discharged because of some other genuine reasons. But to get pension, one should have fifteen years of service. I am bringing this issue to the notice of the House because some people came to me. I found that they served the Army for 12 or 14 years. But now they are starving. They do not get a single pie as pension. I feel guilty because a Member of Parliament after five years of tenure gets pension. But for an ex-serviceman, to get pension, he should have served the Army for fifteen years. I enquired why it is so. I found that it is because the law was made by the British. We could not change it. I am not advocating this pension for everybody. I am not arguing for those who have been discharged on the grounds of indiscipline or those who have been punished and then discharged. I am arguing for those soldiers who joined the Army but could not complete fifteen years of service and it was not their fault. Such people are not just a few thousands in the country. As per my estimates, they are nearly one lakh and most of them are starving.

I appeal to the conscience of this House. We all get pension after five years of service. What better service are we doing than those soldiers who protect the country's borders and our lives? They are protecting our lives and for them to get pension, service of fifteen years is necessary.

I raised the matter here and I wrote also, but the system is like that. I am requesting the Government, through the Deputy Chairman, that a new law should be enacted, so that all those who are discharged due to some other genuine reasons from the Army and who have not completed fifteen years of service should also be brought under the pension scheme. With these words, I support the Motion. Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

श्री मोहम्मद अदीब (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदय, बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया कि आपने मुझे प्रेजिडेंट एड्रेस पर बोलने का मौका दिया। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूं और इस इलेक्शन के बारे में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह इलेक्शन कई मानों में बहुत अहमियत का रहा है। पिछले बीस साल से उत्तर प्रदेश में जो दशा हुई थी, वहां का वोटर या तो बिरादरी या जातिवाद या मज़हब के नाम पर बंट कर रह गया था। विकास का नाम तो वहां खत्म ही हो गया था। इन बीस सालों के बाद इस बार ऐसा लगा कि वहां कि सोच बदली है। अगर उत्तर प्रदेश की सोच गिर जाए तो उसका असर पूरे हिन्दुस्तान की सियासत पर पड़ता है। मैं खास तौर से एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि बाबरी मस्जिद गिरने के बाद मुसलमानों ने कांग्रेस को छोड़ा और बहुत सी छोटी पार्टियों ने उनको कंधा दिया। वे उनके साथ चले गए, लेकिन छोटी पार्टियों ने मुसलमानों को कोई प्लान नहीं दिया, कोई ख़ाक़ा नहीं दिया। उन्होंने उन्हें सिर्फ एक भय बताया बीजेपी का और बीजेपी का काम सिर्फ एक ही रहा कि वह मुसलमानों को टार्गेट करती रही। भय की जो आवाज थी, उसमें मुसलमान सिर्फ एक काम करता रहा कि बीजेपी को हराए। इस इलेक्शन में यूपीए ने जो काम किए थे, जो माइनॉरिटी डिपार्टमेंट खोला था और माइनॉरिटी को जो एक जिम्मेदारी दी थी कि वह भी विकास की तरफ आए और उसी विकास की तरफ यह वोट पड़ा है। इस बार उत्तर प्रदेश से लेकर बिहार तक कोई बाहुबली आदमी अथवा कोई ऐसा आदमी जो दाग़दार हो, जीत नहीं पाया है। इसके लिए उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के लोगों को, वोटरों को मुबारक़बाद देनी चाहिए। इसके लिए वोटरों को उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के लोगों को मुबारकबाद देनी चाहिए। यह एक बहुत खुश-आइन्द मामला हुआ है। एक बात यह हुई कि बील सालों में बी0जे0पी0 के appeasement के जो नारे थे और जब भी कोई काम करने की बात की गयी तो सिर्फ उनका एक नारा आया कि appeasement हो रहा है, हम कहते रहे कि appeasement नहीं है, हमें हमारा हक चाहिए, लेकिन हमेशा यह कहा गया कि appeasement किया जा रहा है। हमने तो कुछ कहा ही नहीं। मैं यहां एक शेर के जरिए अपनी बात रखना चाहता हूं, "न खुलता ये राजे वफा, अब इसमें हमारी क्या थी खता। हमने तो जुबां से उफ भी नहीं की, बस बात चलायी लोगों ने।" और जब बात चली तो सच्चर कमेटी आई और सच्चर कमेटी ने यह बात साबित कर दी कि यह कौम सबसे पिछड़ी हुई है। कुछ लोग तो शर्मिन्दा हुए, कुछ ढीठ अभी भी यह कह रहे हैं कि appeasement चल रहा है और अब इनके कहने से यह हुआ है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी और यू0पी0ए0 की सरकार ने इन बीस सालों में हमको एक रोशनी दी है। मैं समझता हूं कि 20-25 सालों के बाद मुसलमानों ने positive voting की है, उन्होंने वोटिंग बी0जे0पी0 के भय से नहीं की है। उस दिन भी यहां लोगों ने कहा, अरुण शौरी जी ने बहुत खूबसूरती से कहा कि मैं इस बात से तो खुश हूं, लेकिन इसमें फिर appeasement की बात की गयी है। Minorities के लिए बहुत काम किए जाएंगे, यह तकलीफ की बात है। वे क्या चाहते हैं? अगर मायनोरिटी को वे यह समझते हैं कि गरीब और अमीर से जोड़ना है तो इसी मुल्क में अगर कोई दलित काम करता है और वह क्रिश्चियन बन जाता है या बौद्ध हो जाता है तो उसका रिजर्वेशन रहता है, लेकिन अगर क्रिश्चियन मुसलमान बन जाता है तो उसका रिजर्वेशन खत्म हो जाता है। इस बारे में कभी कोई आवाज नहीं उठायी गयी। जो आदमी मैला ढोने का काम करता है, सफाई का काम करता है और अगर convert होकर सरदार बन जाता है तो रिजर्वेशन का हक उसको मिलता है, लेकिन अगर वह मुसलमान बनता है तो उसका हक छीन लिया जाता है। यह सेकुलर हिंदुस्तान के आईन की एक बदनज़ीम निशानी है इस मुल्क में जो यह बार-बार कहा जाता है कि हम गरीब और अमीर को देखना चाहते हैं। अब जब सच्चर कमेटी आई तो उसके बाद भी तो उन्हें कुछ सोचना चाहिए था? हमको भी तो जीने का हक दीजिए। अगर कांग्रेस ने यह कहा कि हम आपको "जय हो" का नारा देंगे तो कहा गया "भय हो।" कब तक भय कराइएगा? इस कौम को कभी फसाद

और दंगों के बाद की जिंदगी भी तो सिखाइए। हम को यह भी तो बताइए कि इस मुल्क में दंगों के आगे भी जिंदगी होती है। हमको यह भी बताइए कि हम भी विकास के रास्ते पर चलना चाहते हैं। हमको भी बताइए कि हम भी तालीम चाहते हैं। आज मैं समझता हूं कि यू0पी0ए0 की सरकार ने, सोनिया गांधी और डा0 मनमोहन सिंह जी की सरकार ने जो प्रोग्राम दिया है और प्रेसीडेंट साहिबा ने जो एड्रेस पढ़ा है, वह एक खुश-आइन्द चीज है और आने वाली कौम और आने वाली नस्लें इसको याद रखेंगी। इस बार बी0जे0पी0 ने बहुत अच्छी तरह कहा कि हम पॉजिटिव रोल अदा करेंगे, अगले पांच साल हम बहुत पॉजिटिव तरीके से opposition का role अदा करेंगे, मेरी ख्वाहिश है और दुआ है कि अल्लाह करे, वे यह काम पच्चीस साल अच्छी तरह से करते रहें क्योंकि पच्चीस साल से पहले वे आने वाले नहीं हैं, अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी के प्रेसीडेंट ने जो खुदबा दिया है, अगर उस पर अमल हो गया तो पच्चीस साल तक ये बहुत अच्छी तरह से opposition का रोल अदा करेंगे इन अल्फाज़ के बाद बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया। मैंने आपका बहुत ज्यादा वक्त लिया इसके लिए माफी चाहता हूं।

جناب محمد ادیب صاحب(اتر پردیش) : مہودے، بہت بہت شکریہ، کہ آپ نے مجھے پریزیڈینٹ ایڈریس پر بولنے کا موقع دیا۔ میں اتر پردیش سے آتا ہوں اور اس الیکشن کے بارے میں میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ الیکشن کئی معنوں میں بہت اہمیت کا رہا ہے۔ پچھلے بیس سال سے اتر پردیش میں جو دشا ہوئی تھی، وہاں کا ووٹر یا تو برادری یا جاتی واد یا مذہب کے نام پر بنٹ کر رہ گیا تھا۔ وکاس کا نام تو وہاں ختم ہی ہو گیا تھا۔ ان بیس سالوں کے بعد اس بار ایسا لگا کہ وہاں کہ سوچ بدلی ہے۔ اگر اتر پردیش کی سوچ گر جائے تو اس کا اثر پورے ہندوستان کی سیاست پر پڑتا ہے۔ میں خاص طور سے ایک بات ضرور کہنا چاہتا ہوں اور وہ یہ کہ بابری مسجد گرنے کے بعد مسلمانوں نے کانگریس کو چھوڑا اور بہت سی چھوٹی پارٹیوں نے ان کو کندھا دیا۔ وہ ان کے ساتھ چلے گئے، لیکن چھوٹی پارٹیوں نے مسلمانوں کو کوئی پلان نہیں دیا، کوئی خاکہ نہیں دیا انہوں نے صرف ایک بھے بتایا بی۔ جے پی۔ کا اور بی جے پی۔ کا کام صرف ایک ہی رہا کہ وہ مسلمانوں کا ٹارگیٹ کرتی رہی۔ 'بھے' کی جو آواز تھی، اس میں مسلمان صرف ایک کام کرتا رہا کہ بی جے پی۔ کو ہرائے۔ اس الیکشن میں یو پی۔اے۔ نے جو کام کئے تھے، جو مائنارٹی ڈیپارٹمنٹ کھولا تھا اور مائنارٹی کو جو ایک ذمہ داری دی تھی کہ جو بھی وکاس کی طرف آئے اور اسی وکاس کی طرف یہ ووٹ پڑا ہے۔ اس بار اتر پردیش سے لیکر بہار تک کوئی باہوبلی

[Transliteration in Urdu Script]

آدمی یعنی کوئی ایسا آدمی جو داغدار ہو، جیت نہیں پایا ہے۔ اس کے لئے اتر پردیش اور بہار کے لوگوں کو، ووٹروں کو مبارکباد دینی چاہئے۔ اس کے لئے ووٹروں کو اتر پردیش اور بہاد کے لوگوں کو مبارک باد دینی چاہئے۔ یہ ایک بہت خوش آنند معاملہ ہوا ہے۔ ایک بات یہ ہوئی کہ بیس سالوں میں بی.جے.پی. کو appeasement کے جو نعرے تھے اور جب بھی کوئی کام کرنے کی بات کی گئی تو صرف ان کا ایک نعرہ آیا کہ appeasement ہو رہا ہے ہم کہتے رہے ہیں کہ appeasement نہیں ہے، ہمیں ہمارا حق چاہئے، لیکن ہمیشہ یہ کہا گیا کہ appeasement کیا جا رہا ہے۔ ہم نے تو کچھ کہا ہی نہیں۔ میں یہاں ایک شعر کے ذریعے اپنی بات رکھنا چاہتا ہوں:-

نا کھلتا یہ راز وفا، اب اس میں ہماری کیا تھی خطا

ہم نے تو زباں سے اف بھی نہیں کی، بس بات چلائی لوگوں نے

اور جب بات چلی تو سچر کمیٹی آئی اور سچر کمیٹی نے یہ بات ثابت کر دی ہے یہ قوم سب سے پچھڑی ہوئی ہے۔ کچھ لوگ تو شرمندہ ہوئے، کچھ ڈھیٹ ابھی بھی یہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ appeasement چل رہا ہے اور اب ان کے کہنے سے یہ ہوا ہے کہ کانگریس پارٹی اور یو.پی.اے. کی سرکار نے ان بیس سالوں میں ہم کو ایک روشنی دی ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ 20-25 سالوں کے بعد مسلمانوں نے پازیٹو ووٹنگ کی ہے، انہوں نے ووٹنگ بی.جے.پی. کے 'بھے' سے نہیں کی ہے۔ اس دن بھی یہاں لوگوں نے کہا، ارون شوری جی نے بہت خوبصورتی سے کہا کہ میں اس بات سے تو خوش ہوں، لیکن اس میں پھر appeasement کی بات کی گئی ہے۔ مائنارٹیز کے لئے بہت کام کئے جائیں گے، یہ تکلیف کی بات ہے۔ وہ کیا چاہتے ہیں؟ اگر مائنارٹی کو وہ یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ غریب اور امیر سے جوڑنا ہے تو اسی ملک میں اگر کوئی دلت کام کرتا ہے اور وہ کرشچئن بن جاتا ہے یا بودھ ہو جاتا ہے تو اس کا رزرویشن رہتا ہے، لیکن اگر کرشچئن، مسلمان بن جاتا ہے تو اس کا

رزرویشن ختم ہو جاتا ہے۔ اس بارے میں ابھی کوئی آواز نہیں اٹھائی گئی۔ جو آدمی میلا ڈھونے کا کام کرتا ہے ، صفائی کا کام کرتا ہے اور اگر convert ہو کر سردار بن جاتا ہے تو رزرویشن کا حق اس کو ملتا ہے، لیکن اگر وہ مسلمان بنتا ہے تو اس کا حق چھین لیا جاتا ہے۔ یہ سیکولر ہندوستان کے آئین کی ایک بدنظیم نشانی ہے اس ملک مین جو یہ بار بار کہا جاتا ہے کہ ہم غریب اور امیر کو دیکھنا چاہے ہیں۔ اب جب سچر کمیٹی آئی تو اس کے بعد بھی تو انہیں کچھہ سوچنا چاہئے تھا؟ ہم کو بھی تو جینے کا حق دیجئے۔ اگر کانگریس نے یہ کہا کہ ہم آپ کو "جے ہو" کا نعرہ دیں گے تو کہا گیا "بھے ہو" کب تک بھے کرائیے گا؟ اس قوم کو ابھی فساد اور دنگوں کے بعد کی زندگی بھی تو سکھائیے۔ ہم کو یہ بھی تو بتائیے کہ اس ملک میں دنگوں کے آگے بھی زندگی ہوتی ہے۔ ہم کو یہ بھی بتائیے کہ ہم بھی وکاس کے راستے پر چلنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم کو بھی بتائیے کہ ہم بھی تعلیم چاہتے ہیں۔ آج میں سمجھتا ہو کہ یو۔پی۔اے۔ کی سرکار نے، سونیا گاندھی اور ڈاکٹر منموہن سنگھہ جی کی سرکار نے جو پروگرام دیا ہے اور پریزیڈینٹ صاحبہ نے جو ایڈریس پڑھا ہے، وہ ایک خوش آئند چیز ہے اور آنے والی قوم اور آنے والی نسلیں اس کو یاد رکھیں گی۔ اس بار بی۔جے۔پی۔ نے بہت اچھی طرح کہا کہ ہم پازیٹو رول ادا کریں گے، اگلے پانچ سال ہم بہت پازیٹو طریقے سے اپوزیشن کا رول ادا کریں گے، میری خواہش ہے اور دعا ہے کہ اللہ کرے وہ یہ کام پچیس سال اچھی طرح سے کرتے رہیں کیوں کہ پچیس سال سے پہلے وہ آنے والے نہیں ہیں، اگر کانگریس پارٹی کے پریزیڈینٹے جو خطبہ دیا ہے، اگر اس پر عمل ہو گیا تو پچیس سال تک وہ بہت اچھی طرح سے اپوزیشن کا رول ادا کریں گے۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھہ ساتھہ بہت بہت شکریہ۔ میں نے آپ کا بہت زیادہ وقت لیا اس کے لئے معافی چاہتا ہوں۔

"ختم شد"

डा0 (श्रीमती) नजमा ए0 हेपतुल्ला : आपने उनकी बात को गलत समझा। आपने "जय हो" और "भय हो" की बात कही, तो वह भय महंगाई के खिलाफ था, आतंकवाद के खिलाफ था और मंदी के खिलाफ था। वह आपको बी0जे0पी0 से नहीं डरा रहे...(व्यवधान)...

श्री मोहम्मद अदीब : अरुण शौरी जी ने सिर्फ यही कहा कि मुसलमान के नाम पर मत कहिए ...(व्यवधान)...

جناب محمد ادیب صاحب: ارون شوری جی نے صرف یہی کہا کہ مسلمان کے نام پر مت کہئے ...مداخلت...

डा0 (श्रीमती) नजमा ए0 हेपतुल्ला : आपको समझने में थोड़ी गलती हो गई, एक बार उनकी स्पीच फिर से पढ़ लीजिएगा।

श्री अहमद सईद मलीहाबादी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : जनाबे आली, हमारी मोहतरमा सदर साहिबा ने 4 जून को जो खुतबा हम तमाम मेम्बरान पार्लियामेंट के सामने दिया है, उसमें उन्होंने अपनी हुकूमत के अगले पांच साल के लिए एक नक्शा पेश किया है और वह नक्शा ऐसा है, जो देखने में और सुनने में बहुत अच्छा मालूम हो रहा है। अब उसमें रंग भरने की जरूरत है और उसमें रंग कौन भरेगा? रंग भरेंगे उनकी हुकूमत के वजीरे-आजम साहब और दूसरे वुजरा साहबान। हम यह उम्मीद करते हैं कि वे इस नक्शे को लेकर चलेंगे। इसमें जो कुछ कहा गया है, हम लोग उसकी ताईद करते हैं। इकतसादी पॉलिसी में कहींकहीं इख्तिलाफे राय हो सकती है, लेकिन मजमूई तौर पर जो प्रोग्राम है, वह हिंदुस्तान की तरक्की के लिए है। हमारी सदर साहिबा ने जो कुछ कहा है, हम उसकी ताईद करते हैं, उनका शुक्रिया भी अदा करते हैं।

सर, यहां इलेक्शन की बात आई है, इलेक्शन कमीशन की बात भी आई है। मैं समझता हूं कि इलेक्शन कमीशन ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है, हमारा साफ-सुथरा इलेक्शन हुआ है, मजमूई तौर पर पुर-अमन इलेक्शन हुआ है, जिस तरह की मार-काट बहुत दफा हो चुकी थी, ऐसी नहीं देखी गई। ये सब बहुत अच्छी बातें हैं। कोई चीज दुनिया में मुकम्मल नहीं होती है, कुछ और इसलाह की जरूरत होगी, जरूर करना चाहिए, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। एक बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है कि इलेक्शन कमीशन और हुकूमत इतनी भरी गर्मी में इलेक्शन क्यों कराते हैं, आखिर इसकी वजह क्या है? इस भरी गर्मी में वोटर्स भी परेशान, उम्मीदवार भी परेशान, जो कर्मचारी काम करने वाले होते हैं वे सबसे ज्यादा परेशान होते हैं और भरी गर्मी का नतीजा जो होता है, वह यह होता है कि अगर किसी के सिर पर गर्मी सवार हो गई तो वह बावला हो जाता है और जो बावला हो जाएगा, तो फिर हमको वह 'भय' सुनना पड़ेगा, हमको सुनना पड़ेगा कि हम सिर काट देंगे, हम हाथ काट देंगे, हम यह कर देंगे। यह जो भय का पैदा होता है, शायद उसमें कुछ गर्मी का असर होता है। हम बहुत खुश हैं कि हमारे वोटर्स ने बहुत ठंडे दिमाग से फैसला किया कि हमें उन लोगों के हाथों में इस देश की किस्मत देनी है, जो इस मुल्क को अमन, शांति और भाईचारे के साथ चला सकते हैं, उन लोगों के हाथों में नहीं देनी है, जो ऐसे उम्मीदवार खड़े करते हैं, जो खुल्लमखुल्ला ऐलान कर रहे हैं और शर्मिंदा भी नहीं हैं, कि हम लोगों के सिर काट देंगे, हाथ काट देंगे। यह देश सिर काटने वालों और हाथ काटने वालों के लिए नहीं बना है, यह उन लोगों के लिए बना है, जो लोगों के सिरों की सलामती के लिए काम करेंगे, जो लोगों के हाथों को जिंदा रखेंगे ताकि लोग अपने हाथों से मेहनत करेंगे और मुल्क में अच्छी पैदावार करेंगे। हमारे वोटर्स ने बिल्कुल सही फैसला किया है, हम उसका खैर-मकदम करते हैं।

सर, यह बात जरूर सही है कि माइनोरिटी अपीजमेंट की बहुत बातें सुनने में आती हैं। हमारे वजीरे-आजम साहब इस वक्त मौजूद नहीं हैं, लेकिन शायद मेरी आवाज उन तक पहुंचे। मई, 2004 में जिस वक्त वह हमारे मुल्क के वजीरे-आजम बने थे, हम लोग बहुत खुश हुए थे, लेकिन उस वक्त उनको वजीरे आजम बनाया था कांग्रेस पार्टी की प्रेसिडेंट मोहतरमा सोनिया गांधी जी ने और पूरे मुल्क ने उनको कबूल किया था। वह बहुत

[Transliteration in Urdu Script]

अच्छे वजीरे आजम साबित हुए, लेकिन आज इस मुल्क ने, इस मुल्क की करोड़ों आवाम ने उनको वजीरे आजम मुनतखिब किया है। यह बिल्कुल एक नुक्ते की बात है कि एक माइनोरिटी के उम्मीदवार को प्राइम मिनिस्टर बना कर खड़ा किया, सोनिया गांधी जी ने कह दिया कि हम उनको अपना प्राइम मिनिस्टर दुबारा बनाएंगे और मुल्क ने उसको तसलीम किया। एक तरफ लोहे के बने हुए उम्मीदवार खड़े थे, आयरन मेन थे, बहुत ताकतवर और दूसरी तरफ इल्जाम था बड़ा कमजोर। अरे, सरदार तो बहुत कमजोर नहीं होते, हम समझते हैं कि सरदार तो बहुत ताकतवर होते हैं। हां, वह बोलते बहुत मीठा थे और आहिस्ता बोला करते थे। मैंने इलेक्शन में उनकी तकरीरों को सुना है, आवाज में अब कड़क जैसा पैदा हो गया है और वजीरे आजम साहब ने, हमारे डा0 मनमोहन सिंह जी ने साबित कर दिया है कि वह कमजोर वजीरे आजम नहीं हैं, वह इलेक्शन जीत सकते हैं, अपनी पार्टी को इलेक्शन जितवा सकते हैं। इतनी कामयाबी के साथ जिता सकते हैं। हम तो यह समझते हैं कि यह हुआ है। अब जहाँ तक minorities या appeasement वगैरह की बात है, ये सब किस्से बहुत पुराने हो गए हैं। सच्चर कमेटी की बातें आई हैं। यह सब कुछ हुआ है। यह बात बिल्कुल सही है कि पिछले पांच साल तो कागज़ की जीनत बन कर गुजर गये। सच्चर कमेटी के प्रोग्राम बन गये, ये हो गया और वो हो गया। अमलदरामद जो था - मैं उस बात को फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ जो हमारे बहुत से भाइयों ने कही कि सरकार का एक रुपया चलता है तो आम आदमी तक 15 पैसे पहुँचते हैं। कहीं कहते हैं कि 10 पैसे पहुँचते हैं। हमारा ख्याल यह है कि शायद जब मुसलमान की बात आती है तो वहाँ पांच पैसे पहुँचते हैं। नहीं पहुँच रहा है। बच्चों को स्कॉलरशिप नहीं मिल रही है। हम Minority ministry की तरफ से गर्ल्स और ब्यायज़ के हॉस्टल बनाना चाहते थे। वे नहीं बन पा रहे हैं। कहीं तो रुकावट पड़ रही है! अब एक प्रॉब्लम और आ गई है और वह मैं मोहतरम, अपने डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहब की मारफ़त ये हुकूमत के गोशे-गुजार करना चाहता हूँ कि हम तो यह उम्मीद करते हैं कि अगर कोई नीचे है तो उसको जब ऊपर उठाते हैं तो कहते हैं कि उसका प्रमोशन हो रहा है। हमारी जो यह Minority ministry है, जो इसी UPA गवर्नमेंट ने बनाई थी, यह पांच साल तक उस हालत में रही। सच्चर कमेटी ने यहाँ की मुस्लिम minorities के बारे में रिपोर्ट दी है कि गिरते-गिरते वह दलित के लेवल पर आ गई है। यह Minority ministry भी गिरते-गिरते उस लेवल पर पहुँच गई है। आज बजाय इसके कि उसका प्रमोशन होता, इस हुकूमत ने उसका डिमोशन कर दिया है। इस मिनिस्ट्री में जो मिनिस्टर मुकर्रर किया गया है, वह कैबिनेट रैंक का नहीं है। क्या वजह है कि उसको आप डिमोट कर रहे हैं ? यहाँ तक कि उसको पार्ट टाइम मिनिस्टर मुकर्रर कर रहे हैं! उनके साथ में कंपनी का भी ओहदा लगा दिया है! अरे साहब, 60 बरस का बैकलॉग है। लोग बहुत परेशान हैं। अभी हमारे दोस्त ने आपके सामने यह बात कही है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के मुसलमान वापिस आए हैं। सिर्फ उत्तर प्रदेश के मुसलमान नहीं आए हैं बल्कि बहुत-सी रियासतों के मुसलमान वापिस आए हैं। जहाँ कहीं जो भी रियासती हुकूमत minorities के हुकूक को नजरअंदाज करेगी, उनको तरसाएगी, उनको भूखा रखेगी, उनके जो जायज मुतालबात हैं, उनको नहीं मानेगी, उनको आइनी हुकूक नहीं देगी, वह हुकूमत भी शिकस्त होगी, चाहे वह रियासती हुकूमत हो या मरकजी हुकूमत हो। Minorities, जो इंडिया की second largest population है, उसको नजरअंदाज करके नहीं चला जा सकता है। मेरा अर्ज करने का मकसद यह है कि जहाँ कहीं भी होगा - हम उस बात को नहीं कह रहे हैं, किसी का नाम नहीं ले रहे हैं, लेकिन हम यह बात कह रहे हैं कि इस बात का ख्याल रखना होगा। अगर आप मुसलमानों को कुछ दे नहीं सकते हैं तो कम से कम उनके हाथ से छीनना तो नहीं चाहिए! एक जमाना था जब हम अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी के बहुत किस्से सुना करते थे। Minority character खत्म कर दिया गया। उसकी कितनी भारी कीमत हमारी मोहतरमा इंदिरा गांधी को अदा करनी पड़ी थी! आज फिर हम देख-सुन रहे हैं। अब एक नाम है -जामिया मिल्लिया इस्लामिया, उसका भी minority character नहीं है। तो फिर किसका minority character होगा? मेरा भी minority character नहीं है। मेरा भी minority character नहीं होगा। यह तो बहुत अंधेर की बात है। ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है और ऐसा नहीं चल सकता है। उस यूनिवर्सिटी को जिसको मुजाहिदिने आजादी मौलाना महमूद हसन, मौलाना मोहम्मद अली जौहर, मौलाना अबुल कलाम आजाद और हकीम अजमल खाँ जैसे लोगों ने कायम किया था, आज उसका minority character नहीं है - यह तो minorities को उलझाने वाली बातें हैं। मुसलमानों को उलझाना बंद कर दीजिए। ये उलझाने वाली बातें नहीं

चलेंगी। मुसलमान, हिन्दुस्तान का minorities एक जिम्मेदार, इंडियन नेशन का पार्ट एंड पार्सल बन कर - कोई majority-minority की तफरीक हम बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं करते हैं। चूंकि इसका constitutional जिक्र आ रहा है, इसलिए हम minority और majority की बात कर रहे हैं। लेकिन हम यह कह रहे हैं कि यदि आप हिन्दुस्तान के एक जिम्मेदार शहरी हैं तो आपको इनको साथ लेकर चलना होगा। इन कामों के अंदर इनको उलझाना नहीं चाहिए। हमारा भी हक़ है, वह हमको मिलना चाहिए। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि सच्चर कमेटी के ज़रिये जो कुछ हमको देने के वायदे किये जा रहे हैं, वह खैरात हम नहीं चाहते हैं। हम अपना entitlement चाहते हैं, इस्तेहकाफ चाहते हैं। जब तक आप मुसलमानों को रिजर्वेशन के ज़रिये से उनका हक़ नहीं देंगे, तब तक ये मराआत देने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है and the Muslims will not be satisfied. बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

جناب احمد سعید ملیح آبادی (پچھمی بنگال) : جناب عالی، ہماری محترمہ صدر صاحبہ نے 4 جون کو جو خطبہ ہم تمام ممبران پارلیمنٹ کے سامنے دیا ہے، اس میں انہوں نے اپنی حکومت کے اگلے پانچ سال کے لئے ایک نقشہ پیش کیا ہے اور وہ نقشہ ایسا ہے، جو دیکھنے میں اور سننے میں بہت اچھا معلوم ہو رہا ہے. اب اس میں رنگ بھرنے کی ضرورت ہے اور اس میں رنگ کون بھرے گا؟ رنگ بھریں گے ان کی حکومت کے وزیر اعظم صاحب اور دوسرے وزراء صاحبان. ہم یہ امید کرتے ہیں کہ وہ اس نقشے کو لیکر چلیں گے. اس میں جو کچھ کہا گیا ہے، ہم لوگ اس کی تائید کرتے ہیں. اقتصادی پالیسی میں کہیں کہیں اختلاف رائے ہو سکتی ہے، لیکن مجموعی طور پر جو پروگرام ہے، وہ ہندوستان کی ترقی کے لئے ہے. ہماری صدر صاحبہ نے جو کچھ کہا ہے، ہم اس کی تائید کرتے ہیں، ان کا شکریہ بھی ادا کرتے ہیں.

سر، یہاں الیکشن کی بات آئی ہے، الیکشن کمیشن کی بات بھی آئی ہے. میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ الیکشن کمیشن نے بہت اچھا کام کیا ہے، ہمارا صاف ستھرا الیکشن ہوا ہے، مجموعی طور پر پر امن الیکشن ہوا ہے، جس طرح کی مار کاٹ بہت دفعہ ہو چکی تھی، ایسی نہیں دیکھی گئی. یہ سب بہت اچھی باتیں ہیں. کوئی چیز دنیا میں مکمل نہیں ہوتی ہے، کچھ اور اصلاح کی ضرورت ہوگی، ضرور کرنا چاہئے، اس

[Transliteration in Urdu Script]

میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے۔ ایک بات میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتی ہے کہ الیکشن کمیشن اور حکومت اتنی بھری گرمی میں الیکشن کیوں کراتے ہیں، اس کی آخر وجہ کیا ہے؟ اس بھری گرمی میں ووٹرس بھی پریشان، امیدوار بھی پریشان، جو کرمچاری کام کرتے والے ہوتے ہیں وہ سب سے زیادہ پریشان ہوتے ہیں اور بھری گرمی کا نتیجہ جو ہوتا ہے، اگر کسی کے سر پر گرمی سوار ہو گئی تو وہ باؤلا جاتا ہے اور جو باؤلا جائے گا تو پھر ہم کو یہ بھی سننا پڑے گا، ہم کو سننا پڑے گا کہ ہم سر کاٹ دیں گے، ہم ہاتھ کاٹ دیں گے، ہم یہ کر دیں گے۔ یہ جو بھی [illegible] پیدا ہوتا ہے، شاید اس میں کچھ گرمی کا اثر ہوتا ہے۔ ہم بہت خوش ہیں کہ ہمارے ووٹرس نے بہت ٹھنڈے دماغ سے فیصلہ کیا کہ ہمیں ان لوگوں کے ہاتھوں میں اس دیش کی قسمت دینی ہے، جو اس ملک کو امن، شانتی اور بھائی چارے کے ساتھ چلا سکتے ہیں، ان لوگوں کے ہاتھوں میں نہیں دینی ہے، جو ایسے امیدوار کھڑے کرتے ہیں، جو کھلم کھلا اعلان کر رہے ہیں اور شرمندہ بھی نہیں ہیں کہ ہم لوگوں کے سر کاٹ دیں گے، ہاتھ کاٹ دیں گے۔ یہ دیش سر کاٹنے والوں اور ہاتھ کاٹنے والوں کے لئے نہیں بنا ہے، وہ ان لوگوں کے لئے بنا ہے، جو لوگوں کے سروں کی سلامتی کے لئے کام کریں گے، جو لوگوں کے ہاتھوں کو زندہ رکھیں گے تاکہ لوگ اپنے ہاتھوں سے محنت کریں گے اور ملک میں اچھی پیداوار کریں گے۔ ہمارے ووٹرس نے بالکل صحیح فیصلہ کیا ہے، ہم اس کا خیر مقدم کرتے ہیں۔

سر، یہ بات ضرور صحیح ہے کہ مائنارٹی امپاورمنٹ کی بہت باتیں سننے میں آتی ہیں۔ ہمارے وزیر اعظم صاحب اس وقت موجود نہیں ہیں، لیکن شاید میری آواز ان تک پہنچے۔ مئی، 2004 میں جس وقت وہ ہمارے ملک کے وزیر اعظم بنے تھے، ہم لوگ بہت خوش ہوئے تھے، لیکن اس وقت ان کو وزیر اعظم بنایا تھا کانگریس پارٹی کی پریزیڈینٹ محترمہ سونیا گاندھی جی نے اور پورے ملک نے ان کو قبول کیا تھا۔ وہ بہت اچھے وزیر اعظم ثابت ہوئے، لیکن آج اس ملک نے، اس ملک کے

کروڑوں عوام نے ان کو وزیر اعظم منتخب کیا ہے۔ یہ بالکل ایک کی بات ہے کہ ایک مائنارٹی کے امیدوار کو پرائم منسٹر بنا کر کھڑا کیا، سونیا گاندھی جی نے کہہ دیا کہ ہم ان کو اپنا پرائم منسٹر دوبارہ بنائیں گے اور ملک نے اس کو تسلیم کیا۔ ایک طرف لوہے کے بنے ہوئے امیدوار کھڑے تھے، آئرن مین تھے، بہت طاقتور اور دوسری طرف الزام تھا کہ بڑا کمزور ہے، سردار تو بہت کمزور نہیں ہوتے، ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ سردار تو بہت طاقتور ہوتے ہیں، جب بولتے تھے تو میٹھا بولتے تھے اور آہستہ بولتے تھے، لیکن الیکشن میں میں نے ان کی تقریروں کو سنا ہے، آواز کڑک ہو گئی تھی۔ وزیر اعظم صاحب نے، ہمارے ڈاکٹر منموہن سنگھ جی نے ثابت کر دیا کہ وہ کمزور وزیر اعظم نہیں ہیں، وہ الیکشن جیت سکتے ہیں، اپنی پارٹی کو الیکشن جتوا سکتے ہیں۔

اتنی کامیابی کے ساتھ جتا سکتے ہیں۔ ہم تو یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ یہ ہوا ہے۔ اب جہاں تک مائنارٹیز یا appeasement وغیرہ کی بات ہے، یہ سب قصے بہت پرانے ہو گئے ہیں۔ سچر کمیٹی کی باتیں آئی ہیں۔ وہ سب کچھ ہوا ہے۔ یہ بات بالکل صحیح ہے کہ پچھلے پانچ سال تو کاغذ کی زینت بن کر گزر گئے۔ سچر کمیٹی کے پروگرام بن گئے، یہ ہو گیا اور وہ ہو گیا، عمل درآمد جو تھا، میں اس بات کو پھر دوہرانا چاہتا ہوں جو ہمارے بہت سے بھائیوں نے کہی کہ سرکار کا ایک روپیہ چلتا ہے تو عام آدمی تک 15 پیسے پہنچتے ہیں۔ کہیں کہتے ہیں کہ 10 پیسے پہنچتے ہیں۔ ہمارا خیال یہ ہے کہ شاید جب مسلمان کی بات آتی ہے وہاں پانچ پیسے پہنچتے ہیں۔ نہیں پہنچ رہا ہے۔ بچوں کو اسکالر شپ نہیں مل رہی ہے۔ ہم مائنارٹی منسٹری کی طرف سے گرلز اور بوائز کے ہاسٹل بنانا چاہتے تھے۔ وہ نہیں بن پا رہے ہیں۔ کہیں تو رکاوٹ پڑ رہی ہے۔ اب ایک پرابلم اور ہے اور وہ میں محترم، اپنے ڈپٹی چیئرمین صاحب کی معرفت یہ حکومت کو گوش گزار کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم تو یہ امید کرتے ہیں کہ اگر کوئی نیچے ہے تو اس کو جب اوپر اٹھاتے ہیں تو کہتے ہیں کہ اس کا

پرموشن ہو رہا ہے۔ ہماری یہ مائنارٹی منسٹری ہے، جو اسی یو.پی.اے. گوورنمنٹ نے بنائی تھی، وہ پانچ سال تک اس حالت میں رہی۔ سچر کمیٹی نے یہاں کی مسلم مائنارٹیز کے بارے میں رپورٹ دی ہے کہ گرتے گرتے وہ دلت کے لیول پر آ گئی ہے۔ یہ مائنارٹی منسٹری بھی گرتے گرتے اس لیول تک پہنچ گئی ہے۔ آج بجائے اس کے کہ اس کا پرموشن ہوتا اس حکومت نے اس کا ڈموشن کر دیا ہے اِس منسٹری میں جو منسٹر مقرر کیا گیا ہے وہ کیبنیٹ رینک کا نہیں ہے۔ کیا وجہ ہے کہ اس کو آپ ڈیموٹ کر رہے ہیں؟ یہاں تک کہ اس کو پارٹ ٹائم منسٹر مقرر کر رہے ہیں۔ ان کے ساتھ میں کمیٹی کا بھی عہدہ لگا دیا ہے۔ ارے صاحب، 60 برس کا بیک لاگ ہے۔ لوگ بہت پریشان ہیں۔ ابھی ہمارے دوست نے آپ کے سامنے یہ بات کہی ہے کہ اتر پردیش کے مسلمان واپس آئے ہیں۔ صرف اتر پردیش کے مسلمان نہیں آئے ہیں بلکہ بہت سی ریاستوں کے مسلمان واپس آئے ہیں۔ جہاں کہیں جو بھی ریاستی حکومت مائنارٹیز کے حقوق کو نظر انداز کرے گی، ان کو ترسائے گی، ان کو بھوکا رکھے گی، ان کے جو جائز مطالبات ہیں، ان کو نہیں مانے گی، ان کو آئینی حقوق نہیں دے گی، وہ حکومت بھی شکست ہوگی، چاہے وہ ریاستی حکومت ہو یا مرکزی حکومت ہو۔ مائنارٹیز، جو انڈیا کی second largest population ہے، اس کو نظر انداز کرکے نہیں چلا جا سکتا ہے۔ میرا عرض کرنے کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ جہاں کہیں بھی ہوگا۔ ہم اس بات کو نہیں کہہ رہے ہیں، کسی کا نام نہیں لے رہے ہیں، لیکن ہم یہ بات کہہ رہے ہیں، کہ اس بات کا خیال رکھنا ہوگا۔ اگر آپ مسلمانوں کو کچھ دے نہیں سکتے ہیں تو کم سے کم ان کے ہاتھ سے چھیننا تو نہیں چاہئے۔ ایک زمانہ تھا جب ہم علی گڑھ مسلم یونیورسٹی کے بہت قصے سنا کرتے تھے۔ مائنارٹی کریکٹر ختم کر دیا گیا۔ اس کی کتنی بھاری قیمت ہماری محترمہ اندرا گاندھی کو ادا کرنی پڑی تھی۔ آج پھر ہم دیکھ سن رہے ہیں۔ اب ایک نام ہے جامعہ ملیہ اسلامیہ، اس کا بھی مائنارٹی کریکٹر نہیں ہے۔ تو پھر کس کا مائنارٹی کریکٹر

ہوگا؟ میرا بھی مائنارٹی کریکٹر نہیں ہے۔ میرا بھی مائنارٹی کریکٹر نہیں ہوگا۔ یہ تو بہت اندھیر کی بات ہے۔ ایسا نہیں ہو سکتا ہے اور ایسا نہیں چل سکتا ہے۔ اس یونیورسٹی کو جس کو مجاہدین آزادی مولانا محمود حسن؛ مولانا محمد علی جوہر، مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد اور حکیم اجمل خان جیسے لوگوں نے قائم کیا تھا، آج اس کا مائنارٹی کریکٹر، یہ تو مائنارٹیز کو الجھانے والی باتیں ہیں۔ مسلمانوں کو الجھانا بند کر دیجئے۔ یہ الجھانے والی باتیں نہیں چلیں گی۔ مسلمان، ہندوستان کی مائنارٹیز کا ایک ذمہ دار، انڈین نیشن کا پارٹ اینڈ پارسل بن کر کوئی majority-minority کی تفریق ہم بالکل پسند نہیں کرتے ہیں۔ چونکہ اس کا کانسٹی ٹیوشنل ذکر آرہا ہے، اس لئے ہم مائنارٹی اور میجورٹی کی بات کر رہے ہیں۔ لیکن ہم یہ کہہ رہے ہیں کہ اگر آپ ہندوستان کے ایک ذمہ دار شہری ہیں تو آپ کو ان کو ساتھ لے کر چلنا ہوگا۔ ان کاموں کے اندر ان کو الجھانا نہیں چاہئے۔ ہمارا بھی حق ہے، وہ ہم کو ملنا چاہئے۔ سب سے بڑی بات یہ ہے کہ سچر کمیٹی کے ذریعے جو کچھ ہم کو دینے کے وعدے کئے جا رہے ہیں، وہ خیرات ہم نہیں چاہتے ہیں۔ ہم اپنا entitlement چاہتے ہیں، استحقاق چاہتے ہیں۔ جب تک آپ مسلمانوں کو رزرویشن کے ذریعے سے ان کا حق نہیں دیں گے، تب تک یہ مراعات دینے سے کام چلنے والا نہیں ہے and Muslims will not be satisfied. بہت بہت شکریہ۔

"ختم شد"

श्री महमूद ए. मदनी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : नायब सदरे-जम्हूरिया, मैं अर्ज़ करता हूं कि -

"हमारा" हाल ए साकी,
हुआ जो कुछ जो होना था।
तेरी महफिल अगर उजड़ी,
तेरा अंजाम क्या होगा।
हमें तो रंग-ए-गुलशन देखकर,
अफसोस होता है।
सहर ही का ये आलम है,
तो वक्त-ए-शाम क्या होगा।"

नायब सदरे-जम्हूरिया, हिंदुस्तान इस majority and minority के सवाल में उलझा हुआ है। हिंदुस्तान में रहने वाली एक बड़ी तादाद है, जिसे अभी मलीहाबादी साहब ने second largest majority करार दिया, जो

बिल्कुल सही है। मैं इस बहस को बहुत तवील नहीं करना चाहता हूं, लेकिन यह बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर इतनी बड़ी तादाद महरूम रह जाएगी, तो हमारा मुल्क कैसे तरक्की करेगा, इसका विकास कैसे होगा और जो ख्वाब हमने अपनी आंखों में सजाया है, वह कैसे पूरा होगा? देश ने एक ख्वाब सजाया, उस ख्वाब को उस वक्त तक पूरा नहीं किया जा सकता, जब तक कि वे लोग, जिनकी हालत education में, economy में और socially भी दलितों से ज्यादा खराब हो चुकी है, अगर उनके बारे में बहस नहीं होगी, अगर उनकी तरक्की के लिए काम नहीं होंगे। यहां मुल्क की बात हो रही है, अगर मुल्क को सही मायनों में तरक्की देनी है, तो यह मुसलमानों की तरक्की के बगैर मुमकिन नहीं है। मैं अपनी दाहिनी तरफ वालों से खास तौर से माफी मांगते हुए यह बात कहना चाहता हूं। अब appeasement का किस्सा है, अब वक्त आ गया है कि अगर मुल्क को बदअमनी से, फसाद से, बरबादी से बचाना है, तो इस मामले पर इस मुल्क में बसने वाले सभी लोगों को एक होना पड़ेगा कि हम किसी को महरूम नहीं रहने देंगे - चाहे वह रंग की वजह से हो, चाहे वह नस्ल की वजह से हो, चाहे religion की वजह से हो, किसी भी वजह से अब किसी को इस मुल्क में महरूम नहीं रहने दिया जाएगा और तालीम पर सबका हक होगा।

नायब सदरे-जम्हूरिया, आज जब एजुकेशन की बात हो रही है, तो तालीम में तारीख को और तारीख में मुसलमानों के किरदार को भुलाया नहीं जा सकता है। मैं मुसलमान हूं, इसलिए मुसलमान की बात कह रहा हूं, यह बात नहीं है, लेकिन हमारे मुसलमान बच्चों को और बिरादराने-वतन हिंदू भाई-बच्चों को भी यह मालूम होना चाहिए कि मुल्क को आज़ाद कराने में और इस मुल्क को बनाने में मुसलमानों का क्या किरदार रहा है। जब उनका किरदार बिरादराने-वतन को मालूम होगा, तो उनके दिल में कद्र होगी और जब मुसलमान बच्चों को उनका किरदार मालूम होगा, तो उनके दिल में ज़ज्बा पैदा होगा कि हां, इसे हमने बनाया है, यह हमारा मुल्क है, हम इसमें शरीक हैं, हम इसमें हिस्सेदार हैं, हम पार्टनर हैं। इससे दोनों तरफ से फायदा है, लेकिन पिछले 60 सालों से इसको इग्नोर किया जा रहा है। जान-बूझकर यह कोशिश की गई है कि मुसलमानों का जो किरदार, इस मुल्क को आज़ाद कराने में रहा है, उसको नज़रअंदाज़ किया जाए। हमें तारीख को दुरुस्त करना चाहिए, खासकर वह तारीख, जो बच्चों को निसाब के जरिए से पढ़ाई जाती है, उस पर खास तवज्जुह दी जानी चाहिए।

नायब सदरे-जम्हूरिया, जब तक सबके लिए equal opportunity नहीं होगी और उस equal opportunity के लिए, बराबर की हिस्सेदारी के लिए कोशिश नहीं होगी, तब तक सही जम्हूरियत, सही इंसाफ, सही मुल्क, सही कदरें और सही तामीर नहीं हो सकती है। हमारा हिंदुस्तान multi cultured है, यहां गंगा-जमुनी तहज़ीब की बात हम सुनते चले आए हैं, यहां खूबसूरत गंगा-जमुनी तहज़ीब है, तो क्या तहज़ीब सिर्फ जुबान तक है या सिर्फ नारों तक है? जब तक इंसाफ नहीं होगा, तब तक वह तहज़ीब, तहज़ीब कहलाए जाने के काबिल नहीं होगी। जिस बात को अदीब साहब कह रहे थे, मैं उस बात को दूसरे अंदाज़ से कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे इस मुल्क में सबको बराबरी का हक दिया गया है, हमारे दस्तूर ने दिया है और हमारे दस्तूर ने यह गारंटी भी दी है कि किसी को किसी के मज़हब के नाम पर कोई खुसूसियत नहीं दी जाएगी, किसी को कोई special treatment नहीं दिया जाएगा कि यह फलां मज़हब का आदमी है, इसलिए इसको special treatment दिया जाए। जब हम रिज़र्वेशन की बात करते हैं, तो यही कहा जाता है कि नहीं, तुम मुसलमान हो, तुम्हें इस्लाम के नाम पर रिज़र्वेशन नहीं दिया जा सकता है। ठीक है कि मुसलमान को इस्लाम के नाम पर रिजर्वेशन नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए, लेकिन उसकी backwardness की बुनियाद पर रिजर्वेशन क्यों नहीं दिया जा सकता? दूसरी बात यह है कि मुसलमान को मज़हब की बुनियाद पर रिजर्वेशन नहीं दिया जा सकता और हमें चाहिए भी नहीं, लेकिन इस मुल्क में दूसरे लोगों को मज़हब की बुनियाद पर लगातार रिजर्वेशन दिया जा रहा है। यह क्यों हो रहा है? इसके ऊपर गौर करना चाहिए और इसको दुरुस्त किया जाना चाहिए कि किसी को मज़हब की बुनियाद पर रिजर्वेशन नहीं मिलेगा। रिजर्वेशन की पूरी पॉलिसी को

revise किया जाना चाहिए और revise करके या तो सब खत्म कर देना चाहिए या ठीक से करना चाहिए कि किसी के साथ नाइंसाफी न हो और जो लोग महरुम हो गए हैं या जो पिछड़ गए हैं, उनको बराबर में लाकर खड़ा करना चाहिए। मैं पिछली सरकार की हुकूमत का शुक्रगुजार हूँ कि वजीरे आज़म हिन्द न सच्चर कमिटी की रिपोर्ट को table किया, लेकिन उससे भी ज्यादा important report जस्टिस रंगनाथ मिश्र कमीशन की रिपोर्ट थी, उस रिपोर्ट को क्यों नहीं पार्लियामेंट में table किया गया?

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) पीठासीन हुए]

इस गवर्नमेंट के पास आगे मौका है, चूंकि यह उन्हीं का बनाया हुआ कमीशन है और वह सिर्फ कमेटी थी। उसने सिर्फ हालत को बताया था, कोई remedy नहीं दी थी, जब कि जस्टिश रंगनाथ मिश्र कमीशन ने हालत को भी बताया है और remedy भी दी है। उसको सामने लाया जाना चाहिए। Communal Violence Act लाना चाहिए, जिसका जिक्र इस मर्तबा Presidential Address में नहीं है, जो कि पुराना वायदा है, इसलिए उस वायदे को पूरा करना चाहिए। हमें environment के ऊपर भी तवज्जुह देना चाहिए। हमारी नदियां खराब हो गई हैं। पिछली सरकारों ने बहुत एलानात किए हैं। इस सरकार ने भी पिछली टर्म में नदियों को दुरुस्त करने के लिए और environment को ठीक करने के लिए ऐलान किया था, लेकिन उस पर कुछ अमल नहीं हुआ है। नौजवानों का motivation हमारी backbone है। मैंने जितनी भी बातें कही हैं, वे सब नेशनल interest में हैं, चाहे equal opportunity की बात हो, चाहे मुसलमानों को बराबर की हिस्सेदारी दिए जाने की बात हो। नौजवानों को motivate करना चाहिए।

महोदय, सिविल डिफेंस की जो रिपोर्ट आई है, मैं उससे बिल्कुल मुत्तफिक करता हूँ। उनको काम में लगाना चाहिए, बेकारी से बर्बादी होती है। बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिए बहुत सारे ऐलानात किए जा रहे हैं और यकीनन हमें मौजूदा वजीरे आजम से और उनकी गवर्नमेंट से उम्मीद है, उम्मीद ही नहीं, बल्कि यकीन है कि वे बेरोजगारी को दूर करने की कोशिश करेंगे, लेकिन सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि जो लोग self-employed हैं, जो अपने हाथ से काम करते हैं, जैसे बुनकर हैं, हैण्डीक्राफ्ट वाले लोग हैं, लाखों परिवार ऐसे हैं, जो इस काम से जुड़े हुए हैं और वे लोग अपना काम खुद कर रहे थे, गवर्नमेंट को इनके लिए कुछ खास नहीं करना था, गवर्नमेंट ने पॉलिसी बनाते वक्त इस बात का ध्यान नहीं रखा, जिसके कारण लाखों परिवार बेरोजगार होते चले जा रहे हैं। उसको दुरुस्त किया जाना चाहिए और जो लोग अपने हाथ से अपनी रोजी कमाने की ताकत रखते हैं, उनके हाथ से रोजी नहीं छीननी चाहिए।

इसी तरह से औकाफ का मामला है, खालिस मुसलमानों का मामला है। औकाफ के मामले पर दियानतदारी के साथ ठीक तरीके से इसका नया एक्ट आना चाहिए और इसको revise करके ठीक से लाना चाहिए।

मैं इन्हीं चंद अल्फाज़ के साथ एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोगों के ऊपर बड़े दहशतगर्दी के इल्ज़ाम हैं। जब मैं एयरपोर्ट के पास से गुजर रहा था तो एक छोटा-सा बच्चा अपनी मां से कहता है कि मां-मां, देखो, बिन लादेन जा रहा है। ऐसी situation से हम लोग गुजर रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि

> "जमाना जानता है, किसका दामन चाक कितना है - 2
> तेरे बदनाम करने से, कोई बदनाम क्या होगा,
> तुम्हारे चाहने वाले, मुबारक हो तुम्हें,
> लेकिन जो हमने कर दिया, वह दूसरों से काम क्या होगा।"

बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

جناب محمود اے۔ مدنی صاحب (اتر پردیش): نائب صدر جمہوریہ، میں عرض کرتا ہوں کہ:-

ہمارا حال اے ساقی	ہوا جو کچھہ جو ہونا تھا
تیری محفل اگر اجڑی	تیرا انجام کیا ہوگا
ہمیں تو رنگ گلشن دیکھکر	افسوس ہوا ہے
سحر ہی کا یہ عالم ہے	تو وقت شام کیا ہوگا

اپ سبھی پتّی جی، ہندوستان اس majority and minority کے سوال میں الجھا ہوا ہے۔ ہندوستان میں رہنے والی ایک بڑی تعداد ہے، جسے ابھی ملیح آبادی صاحب نے second largest majority قرار دیا، جو بالکل صحیح ہے۔ میں اس بحث کو بہت طویل نہیں کرنا چاہتا ہوں، لیکن یہ بات ضرور کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر اتنی بڑی تعداد محروم رہ جائے گی، تو ہمار ملک کیسے ترقی کرے گا، اس کا وکاس کیسے ہوگا اور جو خواب ہم نے اپنی آنکھوں میں سجایا ہے، وہ کیسے پورا ہوگا؟ دیش نے ایک خواب سجایا، اس خواب کو اس وقت تک پورا نہیں کیا جا سکتا، جب تک کہ وہ لوگ، جن کی حالت ایجوکیشن میں، اکانامی اور سوشنلی بھی دلتوں سے زیادہ خراب ہو چکی ہے، اگر ان کے بارے میں بحث نہیں ہوگ، اگر ان کی ترقی کے لئے کام نہیں ہونگے۔ یہاں ملک کی بات ہو رہی ہے، اکر ملک کو صحیح معنوں میں ترقی دینی ہے، تو یہ مسلمانوں کی ترقی کے بغیر ممکن نہیں ہے۔ میں اپنی داہنی طرف والوں سے خاص طور پر معافی مانگتے ہوئے یہ بات کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ اب appeasement کا قصہ ہے، اب وقت آ گیا ہے کہ اگر ملک کو بدامنی سے، فساد سے، بربادی سے بچانا ہے، تو اس معاملے پر اس ملک میں بسنے والے سبھی لوگوں کو ایک ہونا پڑے گا کہ ہم کسی کو محروم نہیں رہنے دیں گے۔ چاہے وہ رنگ کی وجہ سے ہو، چاہے وہ نسل کی وجہ سے ہو، چاہے religion کی وجہ سے ہو، کسی بھی وجہ سے اب کسی کو اس ملک میں محروم نہیں رہنے دیا جائے گا اور تعلیم پر سب کا حق ہوگا۔

[†Transliteration in Urdu Script]

نائب صدر جمہوریہ، آج جب ایجوکیشن کی بات ہو رہی ہے، تو تعلیم میں تاریخ کو اور تاریخ میں مسلمانوں کے کردار کو بھلایا نہیں جا سکتا ہے۔ میں مسلمان ہوں، اس لئے مسلمان کی بات کہہ رہا ہوں، یہ بات نہیں ہے، لیکن ہمارے مسلمان بچوں کو اور برادران وطن ہندو بھائی بچوں کو بھی یہ معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ ملک کو آزاد کرانے میں اور اس ملک کو بنانے میں مسلمانوں کا کیا کردار رہا ہے۔ جب اس کا کردار برادران وطن کو معلوم ہوگا، تو ان کے دل میں قدر ہوگی اور جب مسلمان بچوں کو ان کا کردار معلوم ہوگا، تو ان کے دل میں جذبہ پیدا ہوگا کہ ہاں، اسے ہم نے بنایا ہے، یہ ہمارا ملک ہے، ہم اس میں شریک ہیں، ہم اس میں حصہ دار ہیں، ہم پارٹنر ہیں۔ اس سے دونوں طرف سے فائدہ ہے، لیکن پچھلے 60 سالوں سے اس کو اگنور کیا جا رہا ہے۔ جان بوجھ کریہ کوشش کی گئی ہے کہ مسلمانوں کو جو کردار، اس ملک کو آزاد کرانے میں رہا ہے، اس کو نظر انداز کیا جائے۔ ہمیں تاریخ کو درست کرنا چاہئے، خاص کر وہ تاریخ، جو بچوں کو نصاب کے ذریعے سے پڑھائی جاتی ہے، اس پر خاص توجہ دی جانی چاہئے۔

نائب صدر جمہوریہ، جب تک سب کے لئے equal opportunity نہیں ہوگی اور اس equal opportunity کے لئے، برابر کی حصہ داری کے لئے کوشش نہیں ہوگی ، تب تک صحیح جمہوریت، صحیح انصاف، صحیح ملک، صحیح قدریں اور صحیح تعمیر نہیں ہو سکتی ہے۔ ہمارا ہندوستان ملٹی کلچرڈ ہے، یہاں گنگا جمنا تہذیب کی بات ہم سنتے چلے آئے ہیں، یہاں خوبصورت گنگا جمنی تہذیب ہے، تو کیا تہذیب صرف زبان تک ہے یا صرف نعروں تک ہے؟ جب تک انصاف نہیں ہوگا، تب تک وہ تہذیب، تہذیب کہلانے جانے کے قابل نہیں ہوگی۔ جس بات کو ادیب صاحب کہہ رہے تھے، میں اس بات کو دوسرے انداز سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے اس ملک میں سب کو برابری کا حق دیا گیا ہے، ہمارے دستور نے دیا ہے اور ہمارے دستور نے یہ گارنٹی بھی دی ہے کہ کسی کو کسی کے مذہب کے نام پر کوئی خصوصیت

نہیں دی جائے گی، کسی کو کوئی اسپیشل ٹریٹمینٹ نہیں دیا جائے گا کہ یہ فلاں مذہب کا آدمی ہے، اس لئے اس کو اسپیشل ٹریٹمینٹ دیا جائے۔ جب ہم رزرویشن کی بات کرتے ہیں، تو یہی کہا جاتا ہے کہ نہیں، تم مسلمان ہو، تمہیں اسلام کے نام پر رزرویشن نہیں دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ ٹھیک ہے کہ مسلمان کو اسلام کے نام پر رزرویشن نہیں دیا جانا چاہئے، لیکن اس کی بیک ورڈ نیس کی بنیاد پر رزرویشن کیوں نہیں دیا جا سکتا؟ دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ مسلمان کو مذہب کی بنیاد پر رزرویشن نہیں دیا جا سکتا اور ہمیں چاہئے بھی نہیں، لیکن اس ملک میں دوسرے لوگوں کو مذہب کی بنیاد پر لگاتار رزرویشن دیا جا رہا ہے یہ کیوں ہو رہا ہے؟ اس کے اوپر غور کرنا چاہئے اور اس کو درست کیا جانا چاہئے کی کسی کو مذہب کی بنیاد پر رزرویشن نہیں ملے گا۔ رزرویشن کی پوری پالیسی کو revise کیا جانا چاہئے اور revise کرکے یا تو سب ختم کر دینا چاہئے یا ٹھیک سے کرنا چاہئے کہ کسی کے ساتھ ناانصافی نہ ہو اور جو لوگ محروم ہو گئے ہیں یا جو پچھڑ گئے ہیں، ان کو برابر میں لاکر کھڑا کرنا چاہئے۔ میں پچھلی سرکار کی حکومت کا شکر گزار ہوں کہ وزیر اعظم ہند نے سچر کمیٹی کی رپورٹ کو ٹیبل کیا، لیکن اس سے بھی زیادہ امپورٹینٹ رپورٹ جسٹس رنگناتھن مشرا کمیشن کی رپورٹ تھی، اس رپورٹ کو کیوں نہیں پارلیمنٹ میں ٹیبل کیا گیا؟

(اپ سبھا ادھیکش "پروفیسر پی۔جے۔ کورئن" صدر نشیں ہوئے)

اس گوورنمنٹ کے پاس آگے موقع ہے، چونکہ یہ انہیں کا بنایا ہوا کمیشن ہے، جب کہ وہ صرف کمیٹی تھی۔ اس نے صرف حالت کو بتایا تھا، کوئی ریمڈی نہیں دی تھی، جبکہ جسٹس رنگناتھن مشرا کمیشن نے حالت کو بھی بتایا ہے اور ریمیڈی بھی دی ہے۔ اس کو سامنے لایا جانا چاہئے۔ Communal Violence Act لانا چاہئے، جس کا ذکر اس مرتبہ Presidential Address میں نہیں ہے، جو کہ پرانا وعدہ ہے، اس لئے اس وعدے کو پورا کرنا چاہئے۔ ہمیں environment کے اوپر بھی توجہ دینی چاہئے۔ ہماری ندیاں خراب ہو گئی ہیں۔ پچھلی سرکاروں نے بہت اعلانات کئے ہیں۔ اس سرکار نے بھی پچھلی ٹرم میں ندیوں کو درست کرنے کے لئے اور environment کو ٹھیک کرنے کے لئے اعلان کیا تھا، لیکن اس پر کچھ عمل نہیں ہوا ہے۔ نوجوانوں کا motivation ہماری Backbone ہے۔

میں نے جتنی بھی باتیں کہیں ہیں، وہ سب نیشنل انٹرسٹ میں ہے، چاہے equal opportunity کی بات ہو، چاہے مسلمانوں کو برابر کی حصہ داری دئے جانے کی بات ہو۔ ہمیں نوجوانوں کو Motivate کرنا چاہئے۔

مہودے، سول ڈفینس کی جو رپورٹ آئی ہے، میں اس سے بالکل متفق ہوں۔ ان کو کام میں لگانا چاہئے، چونکہ بیکاری سے بربادی ہوتی ہے۔ بےروزگاری کو دور کرنے کے لئے بہت سارے اعلانات کئے جا رہے ہیں اور یقینا ہمیں موجودہ وزیر اعظم سے اور ان کی گوورنمنٹ سے امید ہے، امید ہی نہیں بلکہ یقین ہے کہ وہ بےروزگاری کو دور کرنے کی کوشش کریں گے، لیکن سوال یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے ہو جو لوگ Self-employed ہیں، جو اپنے ہاتھ سے کام کرتے ہیں، جیسے بنکر ہیں، ہینڈی کرافٹ والے لوگ ہیں، ایسے لاکھوں پریوار ہیں، جو اس کام سے جڑے ہوئے ہیں وہ لوگ اپنا کام خود کر رہے تھے، گوونمنٹ کو اس کے لئے کچھ خاص نہیں کرنا تھا، گوونمنٹ نے پالیسی بناتے وقت اس کا دھیان نہیں رکھا، جس کے کارن لاکھون پریوار بیرزگار ہوتے چلے جا رہے ہیں۔ اس کو درست کیا جانا چاہئے اور جو لوگ اپنے ہاتھ سے اپنی روزی کمانے کی طاقت رکھتے ہیں، اس کے ہاتھ سے روزی روٹی نہیں چھیننی چاہئے۔

اسی طرح سے اوقاف کا معاملہ ہے، خالص مسلمانوں کا معاملہ ہے، اوقاف کے معاملے پر دیانتداری کے ساتھ ٹھیک طریقے سے اس کا نیا ایکٹ آنا چاہئے اور اس کو revise کرکے ٹھیک سے لانا چاہئے۔

انہیں چند الفاظ کے ساتھ ایک بات اور کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم لوگوں کے اوپر بڑے دہشت گردی کے الزام ہیں۔ جب میں ائیرپورٹ کے پاس سے گزر رہا تھا تو ایک چھوٹا سا بچہ اپنی ماں سے کہتا ہے کہ ماں، ماں دیکھو، بن لادن جا رہا ہے۔ ایسی سچویشن سے ہم لوگ گزر رہے ہیں۔ اس لئے میں کہتا ہوں کہ : "زمانہ جانتا ہے، کس کا دامن چاک کتنا ہے، زمانہ جانتا ہے کس کا دامن چاک کتنا ہے، تیرے بدنام کرنے سے کوئی بدنام کیا ہوگا، تمھارے چاہنے والے مبارک ہو تمہیں، لیکن جو ہم نے کر دیا، وہ دوسروں سے کم کیا ہوگا"۔ بہت بہت شکریہ

(ختم شد)

श्री राम नारायण साहू (उत्तर प्रदेश): मैं आपकी राय से इत्तफाक रखता हूँ ..(व्यवधान)..। सबके लिए एक कानून होना चाहिए। आपके लिए भी और मेरे लिए भी एक कानून होना चाहिए।

DR. JANARDHAN WAGHMARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to participate in the debate.

Sir, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. The Address of the President is very comprehensive. It is written in very lucid and simple language. In fact, the main focus of the whole Address is inclusive economy, inclusive society, inclusive growth. This is, in fact, the destination of our Constitution also — Indian society should be an inclusive society in which every section of the society should have its own respectable place and, therefore, we have to implement several programmes to improve the economic and social conditions of the people whether they are Dalits, Adivasis, Muslims or of any other minority. This is the ultimate goal. The President of India has elaborated the concept of the welfare state in the Address. In fact, the mandate of the people is for the upliftment of the common man. The common man is at the centre of the whole Address and it touches upon various points and various aspects of economy and growth. It deals with education, employment and health. 'Education for All' is our national policy. Programmes like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan are doing well. But, let me tell you that there is a lot of disparity in the field of education. Should we have education for the masses or education for the classes? This is a great disparity. Especially, in higher education, students from poor families, marginal sections, do not get opportunity in professional and vocational education because it has become so very costly. Even though you have made provisions for various scholarships, you cannot give scholarships to each and every student. So, this has to be taken into account. Our youth are unemployed. Unemployment is the biggest problem. In fact, this is a threat to the very security of our country. The Government is going to be stable and with this hope the mandate is given. Minorities have spoken about it; they also must have a place of honour in the society. The Government is going to take many measures in order to improve the economic situation. Women's Reservation Bill has been pending for a very long time. I urge upon the Government and all the people here representing various political parties that they should support this Bill. Indian society is going to be really inclusive only when you give equal rights to women. In the Address, we have a point about security, internal security and external security. But let me tell you there is neither internal security nor external security. In the internal situation, you have the Naxalites and various other groups which are creating troubles and that is why there is no peace; and there is no peace on our borders. You cannot choose your neighbours. We have just to adjust with them and we have to face certain problems also. Terrorism also, of course, is the biggest problem, not only in our country but in the entire world. Therefore, this particular problem of security has to be given the maximum attention.

Sir, there are people, for instance, the Kashmiri Pandits who are languishing here, and we do not see that they go home. There are certain points, which, of course, are like utopia. For instance, within five years, we want to have a slum-less India. This is like a dream. In very city, you find slums. People are living in *jhopar patties*. Take the example of Mumbai. In Mumbai, 59 per cent of the population lives in slums, and it is very difficult to clear the slums from that city. The people are just like slumdogs. They lead that particular life.

Sir, I would like to draw the attention of this august House to certain points. One is of corruption. No mention is there in this particular Address. There is corruption at all levels of administration, and it is increasing. It is on the increase. So, one has to take caution about it. In our bureaucracy, corruption is there, but there is no sense of accountability, no integrity at all, no efficiency, and, therefore, there is this problem. Who is going to implement all the schemes that the Government makes? All the measures here, which we are going to have, have to be implemented through administrators, through the bureaucracy. Unless you have a very clean, very efficient bureaucracy, all your measures, perhaps, will not get the fruits that you want. So, that is why we have to be very cautious about it. Let there be debate on the efficiency, on the accountability, on the integrity of the bureaucracy. So, the whole nation depends upon the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats are not going to contest elections. They will be there always, and, therefore, there is this problem. As far as my opinion is concerned, it is really very important. We talk about disinvestment. We are not against it. But, at the same time, the public sector has to play a meaningful role in our own economy. Therefore, people feel that public sector ultimately is their own protector. Judicial reformation is needed. A lot of pendency is there. Corruption has entered into the portals of judiciary also.

Sir, there is another problem, and the problem is of population. There is no mention about this. The population problem is the problem of problems in our country. Every problem is created by it. The growth of the economy is nullified by the enormous growth explosion of population. Therefore, we have to pay attention to that, and we must have a very, very clear vision about the future of this country. Thank you very much.

SHRI NARESH GUJRAL (Punjab): Thank you, Sir. Democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people. The ordinary people of India, the aam aadmi deserve our full praise for clearing the haze and providing a stable Government at the Centre. Sir, I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister also for creating a sense of harmony in the House by reaching out to the Opposition.

Sir, the President's exhaustive Address has shown the roadmap for the Government's priorities. But, since I have limited time, I will touch upon just a few points and make some suggestions for the hon. Finance Minister's consideration. The people of India, specially the youth, are impatient for rapid economic progress.

They not only want *roti, kapda aur makaan* but also access to good education and efficient healthcare for their families.

The Government needs to kick start the economy and achieve 9 to 10 per cent growth in order to meet the aspirations of our countrymen. We are faced with a huge budgetary deficit, which could lead to high inflation rates, once the economy picks up.

Sir, I hope the Finance Minister, seasoned as he is, will not resort to high taxation regime in order to achieve his Government's objectives as high taxation rates have always proved counterproductive in the past. Sir, since the Government has shed the burden of the Left, it can now rapidly disinvest from all loss making PSUs in a transparent manner. At the same time, there is no need for the Government to keep 51 per cent equity in profit making PSUs. The Government can easily keep 30 to 35 per cent equity and yet maintain control especially in large cap companies without any fear of management takeover. This would not only provide the Government with much needed liquidity but also balance its books, improve India's credit ratings and, at the same time, improve the efficiency of the management. ICICI Bank is a prime example. It flourished once the Government decided to disinvest and unshackle its management control. In recent years, Sir, we have seen an unprecedented rise in property as well as commodity prices. This led to the creation of huge amount of black money despite rational rates of taxation. The Government needs to tap this money. Sir, unusual situations call for unusual solutions. Even at the cost of inviting ridicule, I would suggest that the Government should announce a voluntary disclosure scheme to tap this hidden wealth both within and outside the country. Going by historical numbers and keeping in view the inflation rates over the years, it would be safe to assume that the Government would collect anywhere between Rs.30,000 to 40,000 crores as tax revenue. It would not only reduce the Budget deficit but also put in 1,50,000 to 2,00,000 crores of rupees into the economy thereby giving it a kick start. Sir, when this money stays outside the system, it is used for speculative purposes, and it increases the prices of property as well as commodity prices which hurt the poor and the middle classes.

Sir, today most States are bankrupt and exist at the mercy of the Centre. The Sixth Pay Commission has made their plight even more miserable. For true Federalism, we need to rethink and rework the formula for Centre-State sharing of revenues. Sir, either the Government should increase the States' share or the States should be allowed to levy a State Income Tax on the lines of the system being followed in the United States.

Sir, in the past certain States were given blanket Income Tax exemptions for investments made by business houses in the States. This has created a strange imbalance. For example, since Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal and Jammu & Kashmir were given these exemptions, no new industry came up in Punjab, and, in fact some of our industrial units moved to these States. Since the idea behind the scheme is to uplift the backward areas, I would urge the Government

that instead of giving these concessions to the entire State, it should be done on the basis of districts, which are backward. These IT concessions also must have a non-negotiable sunset clause so that they do not go on endlessly.

Sir, unfortunately, of late, the CBI has come under a lot of flak over the past few years. This premier investigation agency must be made free from any kind of Government control and pressure. Also, its agenda must be clearly defined. It has now become a huge generalized agency. Cases relating to economic crimes must be de-linked from its purview and entrusted to a specialized agency.

As economy grows, so does corporate crime. The Government needs to set up an independent and autonomous Economic Bureau of Investigation which is manned by specialists in the field of accountancy, finance and computer sciences to check economic misdemeanour.

The Government has announced an ambitious skill development initiative. Sir, skill development centres without public private partnership will have no meaning as students coming out of Government institutions are generally unable or unfit to find jobs in the corporate world as has been the past experience with ITIs and other government institutions. The Government must give liberal tax benefits to corporate who participate in this exercise, so that these skill development centres work as a nursery for small, medium and large corporate.

Sir, I hope the Government will a pay special attention on the menace of drugs, which is completely destroying our youth, especially in the border States. In Punjab, one regrets to say, almost 35-40 per cent of our youth has fallen victim to it. While it is essential to control the easy flow of drugs from our neighbouring countries and set up rehabilitation centres, it is also imperative that we channalise the energies of our youth in a positive direction. Prevention, Sir, is always better than cure. For this, we need to invest heavily in sports movements in the border districts, so that our young men and women find alternate avenues. Sir, Shri Gill Sahab is sitting here. I hope the Government will announce some special sports package for our youth living in the border districts.

Sir, to maintain the majesty of our democracy of which we are all so justifiably proud, we need to bring in more transparency into our election process. Everyone knows that today it is impossible to fight election within a limit of Rs. 25 lakhs, yet we live with this hypocrisy. The time has come to take a realistic view of election expenses and also think of some State funding of political parties, so that vested interests are kept at bay. I would also urge the Government to enact a law that truly makes the appointment of Election Commissioners free from all political pressures and favours. A collegium consisting of the hon. Prime Minister, hon. Leader of the Opposition and the Chief Justice of India must henceforth appoint Election Commissioners.

Sir, in order for the various schemes of the Government to succeed, money sanctioned by the Government\ must reach the ultimate beneficiary. Regrettably, corruption eats up almost 80 per cent to 85 per cent of this money. Delivery system will improve only once we fix our judicial system. Today, there is no fear of the law as it takes decades to punish the guilty. So, I would urge both the Houses of Parliament to hold a special debate on this issue as judicial reforms is vital for our survival as a democratic nation.

Sir, in the end, may I mention that corruption always flows from top to the bottom. As my senior colleague, Mr. Arun Shourie, mentioned yesterday, the hon. Prime Minister must have zero tolerance for corruption, especially amongst his Ministerial colleagues as that would send a very powerful message down the line. I know that in coalition politics it is easier said than done. But, I can assure the hon. Prime Minister that all of us sitting across the Treasury Benches and here would lend him our wholehearted support in such an eventuality. Thank you.

SHRI BHARATKUMAR RAUT (Maharashtra): Thank you very much Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for giving me the time to speak on this important discussion. But, before making my comments on the hon. President's Address, let me vent out my grievance which is foremost in my mind *i.e.*, when we are talking about bringing in anti-terrorism/anti-communal law at the Central level, my fear is that people are, now, thinking that they are to be protected from the terrorists and, at the same time, they also need protection from our own politicians. Why I am saying this because a person, who held the portfolio of Home Minister in Maharashtra, has been booked by the CBI for the charge of murder. My head hangs in shame that we tolerate this. Yes, you can say that it is an individual offence and why we should waste time. But it is not an individual offence.

[MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

What was the Home Ministry of Maharashtra doing when the Supreme Court had asked the Government to hand over the case to the CBI? Seven months passed in between. After that this case was handed over to the CBI. Why this delay was there? Who is protecting whom? I think, the Government should come clean in this matter to protect my faith in democracy and in law and order. Having said that, I would also like to say that I liked the President's Address very much. This Government has given so many assurances. Wonderful! I can take it as a mission statement of the new Government. But I wonder why is this emphasis on 'hundred days'? After going through the speech, I was wondering whether this Government is elected for five years or for 100 days. What is the hurry? Why do you want to complete so many things in 100 days? Are we realistic? Do we forget the ground realities? Are we daydreaming? Or, are we taking the people, in general, for a ride? What is this? I have many points, but because of paucity of time, and now that the hon. Prime Minister has come, I am sticking to only one point, that is, about the slum-free India.

I come from a city, which is the biggest metropolis of this nation and one of the biggest metropolises of the world. Mumbai is known for its business, for its economy and for its slums. When you said 'slumfree India', I was happy that slums of Mumbai would go. But let me tell you, Sir, that this is only a daydreaming. We have four former Chief Ministers of Maharashtra sitting here in Parliament, three of them are in the Government and one former Chief Minister, Shri Manohar Joshi, is sitting in THE Opposition. Can they stand up, put their hands on their chest and say that slums of Mumbai can be cleared? If they cannot vouch for that, why are we taking the people for a ride? In 1987, the then Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had given grants for Dharavi clearance. After that, seven Governments have come and gone. In Maharashtra also, probably, the same number of Governments have come and gone. What happens to the slums in Mumbai? Have we been able to clear the slums of Mumbai? Thousands of crores of rupees have been spent on that. But whenever you clear one slum, hundreds of more hutment dwellings come there. Similar situation must be there in Kolkota, must be there in Delhi, must be there in Chennai, must be there near Bangalore. Therefore, by clearing the slums, India will not become slum-free because though we say that 'slums' is an urban phenomenon, yet the root cause of slums is not urban. The root cause of the slums lies in the rural areas. So, it should actually be dealt with by the Rural Development Department. No slum dweller comes from Delhi to Mumbai; nobody comes from Kolkota to Mumbai. They come from rural India. Why do they come from there when there are great picturesque landscapes, when they have good houses there? Why do they come to cities like Mumbai and live in slums and lead that kind of dirty life? This is because they don't have livelihood in their own city, in their own village. They do not have opportunities in their farms; they do not have the means to earn their bread and butter there; therefore, they are forced to leave that place and get settled in cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta and Bangalore. So, if at all, we want to create slum-free India, we need to concentrate on areas like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Himachal Pradesh, because those State Governments have failed to provide them good livelihood and good living conditions. Therefore, people have to migrate from there against their will and wish and settle down in big metropolis. So, my request to the hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues is to look into this problem at the grass-root level, find out and address the root cause of the problem, only then, we will have slum-free India. Otherwise, years after years, Ministers after Ministers, elections after elections, President will keep giving the same assurance and it will not be fulfilled. This is my fear.

At the end, hon. Chairman, Sir, I only want to congratulate my colleague, Shri Tiruchi Siva, who raised the issue of regional languages. He said Tamil is the regional language. In India, only Hindi and English are called official languages. English is, perhaps, spoken by less number of people than any of the State languages of the country. Though I am speaking English, English is spoken by less number of people in all the States. Even then, that is considered as official

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language. What happens to the regional languages? As Shri Tiruchi Siva said that Tamil should be given the status of an official language, I would like to say that Marathi is an equally old language. It has written literature for more than 700 years. So, the Government, if at all it wants to bring powers to the people, then, give all the regional languages the status of official languages, enhance their status, enhance the literature and then we will have homogenous India, away from English and other languages. Thank you very much.

THE PRIME MINISTER (DR. MANMOHAN SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I would like to join other Members of this House in conveying our grateful thanks to respected *Rashtrapatiji* for her thought provoking address. I am also very grateful to Shri Arun Jaitley, Leaders of other political parties and all Members who have given their valuable comments on the President's Address. In particular, I would like to congratulate Shri Arun Jaitley. This was his first speech as Leader of the Opposition. I apologise to him that because of my pre-occupation in the other House, I was not present when he spoke. He is a distinguished Parliamentarian who has made a mark for himself and I look forward to working very closely with him for the smooth functioning of this august House.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the President's Address is a broad indication of the overall strategy of development, security and Foreign Policy that our Government wishes to pursue in this five year period for which we have got a mandate. Let me say at the very outset that in accepting this mandate with all humility, I take note of what Shri Arun Jaitley said that there is no scope for arrogance. It is an awesome responsibility. In carrying it out, we need the cooperation of all sections of this House.

I am very happy that this Session has begun on a very happy note. The unanimous election of the Speaker and the hon. Deputy Speaker augurs well for the working of Parliament, and I sincerely hope that every party and every individual in this House will cooperate with us in ensuring that Parliament functions smoothly, that it is the highest forum for reason, dialogue, debate and deliberation.

Sir, I was saying that the President's Address is a broad indication of the overall strategies of governance that our Government wishes to pursue. What is the most basic problem of our country? My thoughts go back to Jawaharlal Nehru's first statement on the 14th of August midnight when he said that our task will not be complete till we have abolished mass poverty from our country. Since 1947, important steps have been taken to reduce the incidence of poverty. The incidence of poverty, which was over 50 per cent until the late 70s, has come down, and, according to the indicators given by the Planning Commission and according to the austere definition adopted by our Planning Commission, the proportion of people below the poverty line has gone down to 27.5 per cent even though we have no reliable data after 2004-05.

My own feeling is that it is going down, whether it is 27 per cent or something like that. Shri N.K. Singh said that we should appoint another Commission to enumerate, to find out the extent of poverty. That is a worthwhile suggestion but if we wait for the findings of that sort of Commission, our term will be nearly over. So, I think, we know the rough dimensions of the problem even though there can be quibbling about the precise figure. The very fact that even after sixty years of this Republic of ours, there are about 27.5 per cent of people below the poverty line is a matter of deep concern and it is our solemn duty to do everything possible to see that this poverty comes down and comes down steeply in the next five years so that within a single generation we get rid of chronic poverty, ignorance and disease which still afflict millions and millions of the people in our country.

Sir, how do we deal with the problem of mass poverty? I have often said and I repeat that meaningful solutions to the problem of mass poverty that prevails in our country can be found only in the framework of a rapidly expanding economy. It is only a rapidly expanding economy which provides, which can provide, jobs on a sufficient scale to take care of the growing requirements of our labour force. It is a rapidly expanding economy which can generate resources, which can then be devoted to programmes of education, programmes of health, programmes of rural development, programmes of irrigation, social welfare programmes, National Rural Health Mission, Urban Renewable Mission. All these are vital components of a coherent development strategy, but to succeed, we need resources and resources can be generated only through the mechanism of an expanding economy, expanding fast enough. In the last five years, our economy has grown at an average rate of 8.6 per cent. In the first four years, the average was close to nine per cent. Then came the international slowdown and our growth rate was affected. This year, it seems, that under the impact of the global economic crisis, our economy will be growing not at nine per cent but at seven per cent. As I see our challenge, it is to raise the growth rate in the next two-three years, back to nine per cent per annum. It is not easy when the international climate is so unfavourable, when exports are seriously affected, when capital inflows are also affected, but I still believe that we have the capacity, on our own, to work for a growth rate of eight to nine per cent in spite of the global slowdown. Why do I say this? When I look at India's savings and investment figures, the savings rate in our country is about 35 per cent. And with that sort of domestic savings rate, even with a small amount of international capital flowing in, with about 37 per cent of investment being sustained by domestic savings and reasonable capital inflows, it should be possible to sustain a growth rate of about eight to nine per cent, and that is the challenge that we have to face as a Government, so that our commitment to social development can become a reality; Our ability to put more resources into the social sector, whether it is food security, whether it is energy security, education security, health security— all this is dependent on our ability to grow and grow faster.

I take pride in the fact that today we have solid programmes in place which take care of the social dimensions of our development problems. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act now covers all districts of our country. It puts a floor on rural poverty because if every family takes advantage of the 100 days' employment offered with an average wage rate of about Rs. 80, each family is provided with about Rs. 8000 crores of income per annum. I am not saying, this can abolish poverty, but it does soften the harsh edges of extreme poverty in a manner which was not the case before the implementation of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act.

There is the Bharat Nirman Programme, designed to build rural infrastructure, consisting of irrigation, rural roads, safe drinking water, housing, electricity and telephone connectivity. I think some Members have referred to the loopholes, the weaknesses, in the programme, but everyone has agreed that this is a programme which needs to be pursued with renewed vigour. Then there is the Rural Health Mission which seeks to reach out to the rural areas in delivery of health services. The programme is relatively new, for it has been operational only for about three years, but the initial results certainly are encouraging. I have been told, that partly as a result of the programme, the maternal death rate will show a decline when the latest figures are published. In the same way, Sir, Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission seeks to upgrade the urban infrastructure in 63 major cities of our country. This is a programme which is well-designed and which has been commended upon favourably and if resources are available it should be expanded. Then there is the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, followed up by the Secondary Education Programme which we have launched in this Five Year Plan. If this programme succeeds, illiteracy would certainly be a thing of the past.

Now, I come to the Integrated Child Development Services. We all have been worried about the extent of mal-nutrition among our pregnant women and among our children. The ICDS Programme was designed to meet that challenge. There have been contradictory reports. But I will be the last one to say that there are no loopholes or weaknesses in the functioning of this programme. We have provided resources. But as to how these resources ought to be spent, I think, is something which requires a fresh look.

Then the last four or five years, we have strengthened social security arrangement for workers in the unorganized sector — Aam Aadmi Bima Yojana, provision of pensions to widows and people below the poverty line. I believe, all these arrangements can be and should be expanded. But once again this is a function of availability of resources. Several Members in this House as well as the other House have drawn our attention to the needs of backward areas. I sincerely believe that we have today instruments to take care of the problems of backward areas. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, I think, confers the largest benefit on the most populous and yet the most backward parts of our country like Bihar, Orissa and other States. In the same way, the Backward Areas Grant Fund which now covers 250 districts, I

think, pays predominant attention to States like Bihar, States like Orissa and other backward States. We could certainly expand the programme. Nobody denies the need for accelerated development in the State of Bihar; nobody denies the need for accelerated development in the State of Orissa and other similarly placed States. But, I think, the essential condition is that we should have the resources to meet the challenge in all these areas. At the same time, there is a vast scope for improving the effectiveness of flagship programmes. Better outcomes from given outlays can be secured by increased involvement of Panchayati Raj Institutions, civil society groups and women and that is the agenda for improved governance that we have placed before this august House. We are not saying that this is the only means to plug leakages. Shri Janeshwar Mishra is not here. He referred to the need of reforming the bureaucracy and of controlling corruption. Shri Arun Shourie also said that the word 'corruption' was absent from the President's Speech. But it is far away from my thoughts. I do know that many development programmes suffer from many leakages which need to be curbed and if they can be curbed even with the given resources, I think, we can give better results. That will be our effort to deal with the situation.

Finally, Sir, the point of critical importance to the functioning of development processes in our country is the empowerment of our women for realizing our vision of a truly integrated economy and polity. It is also important to ensure that hitherto marginalised groups such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and minorities derive adequate and equitable benefit from the processes of social and economic change. I think, Shri Arun Shourie was unhappy with our reference to covering the minorities under the various social and economic development programmes. But, I wish to point out to him that the history of our country has been one where many people suffered deprivation as a group, whether they be Scheduled Castes or minorities, and so, we can't be indifferent to that hard reality of our country. We need to work through the processes of development to resolve these disparities. I, therefore, believe that equal educational and economic opportunities alone would enable people to create new identities. That is the motivation with which minorities' well-being has been referred in the Prime Minister 15-Point Programme and subsequently, in the President's Address.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, Shri Arun Jaitley brought attention to the question that where are the resources for these programmes going to come from. He referred to the high fiscal deficit which limits the scope for further expansion of public expenditure. I do agree with him that the fiscal deficit, as it has emerged, is high. But, I also submit to him that looking around all over the world, I think this is one year in which no country, in the world is paying attention to the fiscal deficit, as we traditionally understand it. The whole world is now thinking in terms of expanding opportunities for growth of output and employment through purposeful public intervention and that is what I believe we should do. But we should do so with caution and with due care. As the

President's Address points out, our goal is high growth and low inflation. I do believe that despite the fiscal deficit being high by available standards, this is the year in which there is some additional scope for further expanding public investment, particularly in the infrastructure sector where our needs are enormous. At the same time, it is very essential that along with this recourse to short-term additional expenditure, we should put in place a medium-term fiscal strategy which would ensure that the fiscal deficit in the medium-term will not get out of hand. This will be our effort in addressing the challenges that our economy faces in this difficult year in which, I think, the whole world economy is experiencing a global slowdown.

Shri Arun Jaitley also referred to the poor functioning of the National Highways Development Programme. And, I do agree with him that there have been some inadequacies in the implementation of that Programme. We will address them as effectively as we can in months and years that lie ahead.

Coming to the issues of foreign policy, I think Shri Arun Jaitley drew my attention to the non-mention of the problems that are emerging in Australia. In this context, I would like to point out that I do agree that our students have been targets of unacceptable attacks in some parts of Australia. Australia today has emerged as a major destination for Indian students. I have been appalled by the senseless violence and crime, some of which is racially motivated, against our students in Australia. I propose to engage the authorities in Australia in a high-level dialogue with a view to taking stock of the situation and to provide adequate security for our students.

In this context, I would like to mention to the hon. House that I have already spoken to the Prime Minister Kevin Rudd on this subject. He assured me that any racist attacks on Indian students would be strongly dealt with. He made a statement in the Parliament in which he condemned and deplored the attacks and said that they were unacceptable. He emphasized that Australia is a multi-cultural nation, which respects and embraces diversity. He said that these would be countered with the full force of the law. I do not wish to underplay or minimise the anxieties of the parents of our students but I wish to request the media to be mindful of the fact that there are over 2,00,000 Australian citizens of Indian origin. We should be mindful of their interests and avoid creating a situation where they become the target of racist intolerance.

India and Australia have very good relations and it has been our effort to widen and deepen these ties in the last five years.

Sir, Shri Arun Shourie referred to the problems that we have with Pakistan. He questioned our understanding of the nature of the Pakistan State, whether it is sufficiently embedded into our thinking or not. Let me mention to him respectfully that Pakistan is our neighbour. We can choose our friends but we have to live with neighbours as we got. When I look at the history of

the modern world, I look at the relations between the United States and Iran. I think, they have gone through difficult periods extending over last thirty years, but, ultimately, even a mighty power like the United States has found that it is necessary to come to terms with the reality of the Iranian situation, and, therefore, there is no other alternative but to pursue the path of dialogue.

It is in the same context, Sir, that I would say that I have a vision for a transformed South Asia where with the cooperation of all our neighbours, we move from poverty to prosperity, from ignorance to a knowledge-society, and, from security to lasting peace.

I sincerely believe that India cannot realise its development ambition or its ambition of being a great power, if our neighbourhood remains disturbed as it is, and, therefore, it is in our interest to work with all neighbouring countries to ensure a peaceful neighbourhood. What is at stake, Sir, is the future of one and a half billion people of humanity. I sincerely believe that it is in our vital interest, therefore, to try again to make peace with Pakistan. But I recognize that it takes two hands to clap. I sincerely hope that the Government of Pakistan will create an atmosphere in which we can realise this vision.

I expect the Government of Pakistan to take strong, effective and sustained actions to prevent the use of their territory for the commission of acts of terrorism in India or against Indian interests and, use every means at their disposal to bring to justice those who have committed these crimes in the past including the attack on Mumbai. I believe that such actions will be welcomed by the people of both countries. If the leaders of Pakistan have the courage, the determination and statesmanship to take this road to peace, I wish to assure them that we will meet them more than half-way.

Sir, in this House references were made to the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. We have been grappling with that problem for the last five years. And, I know what is at stake for all of us. We have centuries old ties with the people of Sri Lanka and we have an abiding interest in the well being of the Tamil population in that country. The Tamil problem is much bigger and much larger than the LTTE problem, and I sincerely hope that the Sri Lankan Government will show due imagination and courage in meeting the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the Tamil people to live their lives as equal citizens and with dignity and self-respect. We have been taking an active part in the relief and rehabilitation of the internally-displaced persons in Sri Lanka. We have already earmarked Rs. 500 crore for this purpose. We are willing to do more to restore normalcy and to return such people to their rightful homes and occupations.

Sir, there has been concern about internal security, the menace of terrorism, the menace of Left Wing Extremism. I would be the first one to say that if these activities are not under control, our economic vision can also get affected. If terrorism is not under control and if some important parts of our country in Central India are the victims of Left Wing Extremism, I think that can have

a serious adverse effect on the climate for investment or the climate for development. Therefore, we will do all that we can to deal with these menaces of terrorism, aided and abetted from abroad, as well as Left Wing Extremism.

I would like to inform the House about the several steps that have been taken since November 2008 to further tighten our vigilance against future terrorist attacks. As Members are aware, the perpetrators of November 26 attack came by sea. We were well aware of our vulnerability to such attacks from this quarter and had already taken a number of steps, but obviously these steps were not adequate. A massive effort has hence been undertaken to streamline our maritime security, which include the setting up of a Maritime Command under the Coast Guard with overall responsibility vested in our navy. We have increased the number of marine police stations to supplement the efforts of the Coast Guard and the Navy.

Sir, there have been several other steps that have been taken, but I shall enumerate only a few. Improvement in intelligence sharing is one. The Multi Agency Centre has been fully energized and subsidiary multi agency centres constituted in more States. The process will be completed shortly. A net-centric information command structure is being set up in place to achieve online transfer of all actionable intelligence in a streamlined manner. I take note of the problem that arises with the institution of this net-centric information centre. Shri Arun Shourie pointed out to some drawbacks and vulnerability. I am sure our security agencies will take note of the comments that he has made. Generation of actionable intelligence has simultaneously been given priority and measures put in place for this purpose. Technical innovation and technical support to intelligence production have been given the highest priority. Steps have also been taken to improve the quality of intelligence analysis. Investigation into serious terrorist offences will from now on be the responsibility of the newly constituted National Investigation Agency. Additional legal measures taken include, apart from the new NIA Act, significant amendments to the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. The Home Minister is in constant dialogue with the Chief Ministers of States keeping them informed of specific aspects of the two new pieces of legislation.

Following the terrorist attack in Mumbai on 26th November, the imperative necessity to have dedicated counter-terrorist forces has been further enforced. The National Security Guard is the principal counterterrorist force in the country. A major effort has been made to improve its capabilities, including better mobility and state-of-the-art equipment. At least, four new NSG hubs are being set up in different parts of the country. In addition, other dedicated counter-terrorist forces are sought to be created.

Similarly, Sir, with regard to Left Wing Extremism, I should briefly mention the strategy that is being adopted. While appreciating that many of the crimes committed by Left Wing Extremism fall into the domain of the State Government, the Central Government will orchestrate

coordinated action. Extremist movements feed on the disaffection of tribes and forest dwellers who often face denial of access to natural resources and equal development opportunities.

I had mentioned in the other House and I would like to repeat it here. We have several programmes of tribal development. But they do not seem to have made the desired impact and this whole area, therefore, calls for a fresh review to end centuries old inequity that I think has been the inevitable lot of a large number of tribal communities.

We will undertake a thorough review of development programmes and see how they can be revitalized and also ensure that we put some of the best motivated officials in charge of development programmes in the tribal areas.

The two-pronged strategy of stern action against acts of violence along with concrete action to restore access to natural resources and development opportunities will continue. The Forest Rights Act to give land under their historical possession to tribes and other traditional forest dwellers was an effort to address one of the systemic causes of alienation of these communities.

The Amendment to the Land Acquisition Bill and the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill now under consideration of this House is another effort to ensure that people are not displaced without adequate compensation and improved life opportunities. It is our hope that we will be able to enact these legislations in this Session.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have indicated the broad contours of development policy, the security policies, and the foreign policy. I know that there are several Members who referred to the cyclone Aila in West Bengal. We are all grieved at the loss of human lives, destruction of houses and property. A Central team is already visiting that area. The House has my assurance that the Central Government will do everything in its power to provide purposeful relief and rehabilitation to the Government of West Bengal. I myself have been in touch with the hon. Chief Minister of West Bengal and there will be no laxity in meeting the relief and rehabilitation needs of the people of the cyclone affected areas in West Bengal.

Sir, I could go on, but there is limited time, and I believe that I have covered some of the broad concerns that have been raised in this House. Shri Arun Shourie drew our attention to the problems in the field of Defence, the cost overrun, and the time overrun. I believe there will be opportunities to debate these issues in detail when demands of the Ministry of Defence come for review in this august House. So, I will not spend more time of this House. With these words, I, once again, express my sincere gratitude to the hon. President for her thoughtful Address and, I hope, this august House will pass the Motion of Thanks unanimously.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Amendments which have been moved to vote. Amendments (Nos. 1 to 34) by Shri Shivanand Tiwari.

SHRI SHIVANAND TIWARI: Sir, I am not pressing.

Amendments (Nos. 1 to 34) were, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos. 35 to 46) by Shri D. Raja.

SHRI D. RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I press the amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put Amendments (Nos. 35 to 46) to vote.

Amendments (Nos. 35 to 46) were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos. 47 to 83) by Shri Sitaram Yechury.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Sir, I press the amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put Amendments (Nos. 47 to 83) to vote.

Amendments (Nos. 47 to 83) were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos. 84 to 107) by Shri Moinul Hassan.

SHRI MOINUL HASSAN: Sir, I press the amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put Amendments (Nos.84 to 107) to vote.

Amendments (Nos. 84 to 107) were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos.108 to 116) by Shri S.S. Ahluwalia.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, I am not pressing the amendments.

Amendments (Nos. 108 to 116) were, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos. 117 to 158) by Shri Prakash Javadekar.

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR (Maharashtra): Sir, I am not pressing the amendments. I will give them 100 days.

Amendments (Nos. 117 to 158) were, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos.159 to 172) by Shri Lalit Kishore Chaturvedi. Not present. I shall now put Amendments (Nos. 159 to 172) to vote.

Amendments (Nos. 159 to 172) were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos. 173 to 205) by Shri Prabhat Jha. Not present. I shall now put Amendments (Nos. 173 to 205) to vote.

Amendments (Nos. 173 to 205) were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Amendments (Nos. 206 to 243) by Shri Ramdas Agarwal.

SHRI RAMDAS AGARWAL (Rajasthan): Sir, I am not pressing the amendments.

Amendments (Nos. 206 to 243) were, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos.244 to 263 by Shrimati Brinda Karat.

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT (West Bengal): Sir, I press the amendments also because the amendments include an important point of our opposition to the disinvestment process which was mentioned in the Presidential Address and which the hon. Prime Minister also has not mentioned in his reply. So, I press the amendments.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Okay. I shall now put Amendment Nos. 244 to 263 to vote.

Amendment Nos. 244 to 263 were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Amendment Nos.264 to 283 by Shri Tapan Kumar Sen. Not present. I shall now put Amendment Nos. 264 to 283 to vote.

Amendment Nos. 264 to 283 were negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Motion of Thanks to vote. The question is:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—

> That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which she has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on June 4, 2009."

The motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, we have admitted Special Mentions for today. Kindly read the subject and lay it on the table.

SHRI VIJAY JAWAHARLAL DARDA (Maharashtra): Sir, you are not allowing us to read the text.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. Just lay it on the table. Read the subject and that is considered as 'laid'.

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SPECIAL MENTIONS

Concern over the delay in laying of railway line and financial loss being incurred due to shifting of the Katra-Banihal stretch of railway track in Jammu and Kashmir

SHRI VIJAY JAWAHARLAL DARDA (Maharashtra): Sir, with the funding of Jammu and Kashmir Railway Line from the Consolidated Fund of India, Budgaon-Anantnag-Srinagar Rail link has been commissioned in October 2008. Now change in alignment of 34 kilometres (Katra-Banihal) stretch of the railway line to dispense with the mega arch bridge on Chenab, has dampened the enthusiasm. Was instability of the slope on the gorge in Himalayas for the foundation of the mega steel arch bridge discovered now despite expertise of Konkon Railway Corporation with back-up from an international consortium called Ultra Afcons VSL? Does this